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THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY CHARLESTON, S. C.

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## THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU AND NEGRO SCHOOLING IN SOUTH CAROLINA

By MARTIN ABBOTT Oglethorpe University

When Appomattox stilled the guns of civil conflict and so gave meaning to Lincoln's edict of emancipation, the South's four million Negroes burst forth into the strange new world of freedom. But to the great majority, liberty was still only an undefined abstraction. To define its content, and to hasten the progress of the former slaves toward citizenship, Congress on March 3, 1865, had created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, charged with the control of all matters relating to the welfare of the freedmen. By late summer of 1865, under the direction of Commissioner O. O. Howard, the Bureau was in operation throughout the former Confederacy, where assistant commissioners had been named for the various states. The post in South Carolina was given to Brigadier General Rufus Saxton, who brought to the office not only high resolve but also wide experience gained in his labors among the sea island Negroes of the state during the previous three years.

One of the first questions to which Saxton turned his attention was that of schooling for the blacks. Prospects were good that the exciting and challenging labor would meet with success, for already much of the groundwork had been laid by private Northern societies at work since 1862 in the Union-controlled areas along the coast. Moreover, the freedmen themselves early evinced a passionate longing for learning; indeed, reading and writing became for them symbols of liberty as meaningful as "forty acres and a mule." One official of the Freedmen's Bureau, writing of those in his district, observed: "Young and old, married and single, the near and far, come to the schools and display an eagerness and earnestness for instruction that betokens success to the teacher and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Acts creating and continuing the Bureau are in *United States Statutes at Large*, XIII, 507-509; XIV, 173-77; and XV, 193-94. Of published accounts of the Bureau, or bearing heavily on its history, the most useful are. Paul S. Peirce, *The Freedmen's Bureau*: A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction (Iowa City, 1904); Elizabeth Bethel, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama," *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), XIV (Feb. 1948), 49-92; John and La Wanda Cox, "General O. O. Howard and the 'Misrepresented Bureau,'" *Journal of Southern History*, XIX (Nov. 1953), 427-56.

taught." <sup>2</sup> Typical of their crude but determined approach to the problem was the story related by one young lady teacher on St. Helena. "We notice," she wrote, "that all the children and grownups also hold their books sidewise; when we asked why, a man answered, 'We wish to learn to read on all sides.'" <sup>3</sup>

This zeal of the freedmen to acquire schooling was equalled only by that of the Northern missionary teachers to provide it. From all parts of the North, especially New England, thousands of young men and women responded to the twofold call to enlighten the blacks and to lead Southerners to repentance of their past sins. The South, declared a leading spokesman for the movement, must be re-ordered until it was safe for the settlement of "the reddest Republican" or "the blackest Abolitionist." 4 Into this great crusade were poured the sentimentality of Negrophiles, the idealism of religious zealots, the hopes of professional liberals, the dreams of reformers, the desires of excitement-seekers, and the strength of genuine humanitarians. Surcharging the whole movement was a strong emotional fervor, best typified by the teacher who likened her mission to that of Moses. It was an ineffable pleasure, she exclaimed, to be among the freedmen "when their morning dawns; to see them personally, coming forth from the land of Egypt and the house of bondage. . . . It is a joy and a glory for which there are not words." 5

It would be a serious error, of course, to assume that all the missionary-educators were emotionalists, or to impute shallow motives to them. Some were devoted individuals who foreswore a life of security for one of self-denial and sacrifice, and who did not abandon their mission once the novelty was gone. Foremost among this type in South Carolina were Martha Schofield, who came from Pennsylvania in 1866 to give forty-eight years of her life to teaching Negroes, and who founded at Aiken an institution still in existence; Laura M. Towne, who gave thirty-eight years to the cause, and who also established a school that has survived almost to the present; Rachel Mather, who devoted over thirty-five years to working with the freedmen; and Abby D. Monroe, who remained for over four decades the director of the Laing School

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> B. F. Whittemore to R. K. Scott, May 25, 1866, manuscript, in Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands Records, The National Archives, Washington, D. C. Unless otherwise indicated, all manuscripts here cited are in these records.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mary Ames, From a New England Woman's Diary in Dixie in 1865 (Springield, 1906), p. 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Henry Lee Swint, The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870 (Nashville, 1941), p. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

at Mt. Pleasant.<sup>6</sup> Plagued by physical discomfort, hampered by inadequate facilities and meager resources, and harassed by a sometimes bitter opposition from the whites, such persons as these brought dignity, high resolve, and noble purpose to this endeavor to lift the pall of illiteracy from the blacks.<sup>7</sup>

Most prominent of the agencies supporting the activity of the teachers in South Carolina was the Freedmen's Union Commission, a non-sectarian group founded in 1863 that underwent several changes of name before 1866. Only slightly less important in the work was the American Missionary Association, organized originally in 1846 as an anti-slavery group. Besides these, almost every major Protestant denomination sponsored one or more schools; Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, all were represented. To these groups must go primary credit for whatever good was accomplished.<sup>8</sup>

The role of the Bureau in this work of enlightenment was indirect but nonetheless vital. The agency did not attempt to recruit teachers, nor did it undertake to pay their salaries; these were the functions of the private organizations. But it did investigate school needs, keep the progress of education before the nation, furnish transportation to instructors, co-ordinate the work of the various benevolent societies, and devote a sizeable portion of its funds to the "repair and rental" of buildings—a phrase construed with extreme liberality by agents in order to render the greatest possible aid. As a guide for its labors the Bureau could draw upon the wartime experience with the sea island blacks of various individuals and agencies. As early as January 1862, following the capture of Port Royal by Federal troops, Reverend Solomon Peck of Boston had begun at Beaufort a day school for sixty "contrabands." Three months later, under the auspices of the Treasury Department and

<sup>7</sup> Illustrative instances of hardships endured by teachers can be found in Ames, New England Woman's Diary, pp. 17-18, 49, 108-109, and 124; Swint, Northern

Teacher in the South, pp. 77-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Martha Schofield founded, Schofield Normal and Industrial Institute at Aiken and Laura M. Towne, Penn School on St. Helena. Matilda Evans, Martha Schofield: Pioneer Negro Educator (Columbia, 1916), pp. 17-33; Francis B. Simkins and Robert H. Woody, South Carolina During Reconstruction (Chapel Hill, 1932), p. 430; Luther P. Jackson, "The Educational Efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Freedmen's Aid Societies in South Carolina, 1862-1872," Journal of Negro History (Washington, 1916-), VIII (Jan. 1923), 1-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Detailed accounts of various benevolent groups can be found in: Swint, Northern Teacher in the South, pp. 3-34; Julius H. Parmelee, "Freedmen's Aid Societies, 1861-1871," U. S. Department of the Interior, Bulletin 38 (Washington, 1917), pp. 268-95; and G. K. Eggleston, "The Work of Relief Societies During the Civil War," Journal of Negro History, XIV (July, 1929), 272-99.

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with the additional support of charitable associations, E. L. Pierce had launched an organized program. Under the direction of Rufus Saxton, Pierce's successor when the entire project was transferred to the War Department, these initial efforts were enlarged until by 1864, 30 schools were in operation with a staff of 45, and an enrollment of 2,000.º A similar undertaking was begun at Charleston early in 1865 following the city's capture. Under the guidance of James Redpath, a reformer of some repute and an author of a popular biography of John Brown, 7 of the city's institutions were opened to Negroes; soon 3,000 students, with textbooks supplied by benevolent groups, were receiving instruction from some 83 teachers.<sup>10</sup>

Altogether, by June 1865, fully 9,000 freed children were reported enrolled in schools scattered throughout the state, although the majority were concentrated along the coast. Upon the organization of the Bureau during the summer and its assuming direction of the school program, Reuben Tomlinson, a civilian of long experience with the Sea Island Experiment, became state superintendent of education. For the next three years he ably discharged the responsibility of co-ordinating and co-operating with the work of the various benevolent groups. He enunciated his philosophy in his very first circular, which called upon the people to contact him concerning school needs in their localities and then went on to declare: "The purpose of this . . . branch . . . is neither to destroy or unnecessarily to interfere but simply to assist in repairing the 'waste places,' and in laying sure the foundations of the future happiness and greatness of the people. . . . This is the spirit in which we shall labor, and we trust the people of South Carolina will meet us in a similar spirit." 11

Working closely with the private associations, Tomlinson was able to report by the end of November 1865, that approximately 48 schools were in operation, 4 of which were in Charleston, 5 at St. Helena, 5 at Hilton Head, 5 at Columbia, and the remainder scattered along the coastal area. Over 5,000 students were enrolled under the guidance of 76 teachers, of whom 49 were Northerners and 27 native Negroes. Indicative of the task that lay ahead was the fact that 23 of the state's 31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Guion G. Johnson, A Social History of the Sea Islands, with Special Reference to St. Helena, South Carolina (Chapel Hill, 1930), pp. 154-215; Elizabeth W. Pearson, ed., Letters from Port Royal, Written at the Time of the Civil War (Boston, 1906), pp. 5-7.

New York Times, April 16, 1865; Charleston Courier, June 17, July 1, 8, 1865.
 Charleston Courier Oct. 9, 1865. For biographical data on Tomlinson, see
 Rufus Saxton to O. O. Howard, Aug. 14, 1865; Charleston Courier, Oct. 6, 1865;
 The Nation, I (Dec. 21, 1865), p. 770.

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districts had not even a single school for freedmen.<sup>12</sup> During the year, slow but steady progress was recorded in expanding the work until by June 1866, institutions numbering 54 were operating with an enrollment of nearly 8,000, an average daily attendance of 5,500, and a teaching staff of 130. During the session, total expenditures for education had amounted to \$72,000, the bulk of which had been supplied by benevolent associations. Not even these figures tell the complete story, however, for there were a number of unreported night and Sabbath schools, the latter offering in many instances some kind of elementary instruction. Tomlinson estimated, doubtless with some exaggeration, that at least 30,000 colored persons during 1865-1866 had learned to read.<sup>13</sup>

Two individuals who did yeoman's service in this endeavor were B. F. Whittemore and T. G. Wright. Whittemore, a native of Massachusetts and a Methodist Episcopal minister before the war, had served during the conflict as chaplain in one of his state's regiments. In 1865 he became assistant superintendent of education for eastern South Carolina. At the time, throughout the eight districts under his jurisdiction, not a single school existed for the benefit of a total Negro population of about 100,000. Using barns for meeting places and ex-slaves for teachers, Whittemore within six months had managed to establish 13 schools with an enrollment of 1,100 and a staff of 14. From then until the Bureau's expiration he labored diligently and effectively to improve and enlarge the system. 14 Wright, who was sponsored by the New York branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission, was the first to begin a school for Negroes in the region around Columbia. Following his appointment by the assistant commissioner as superintendent of education for western South Carolina, he sought to do there what Whittemore was doing in the eastern part of the state. By June 1866, he reported 22 schools in operation with an enrollment of 1,800 and a staff of 10 Northerners, 7 Negroes, and 7 native whites.15

From the beginning of the movement, the educational program offered in the Bureau-sponsored schools was one strongly colored by classicism and tinged with not a little of religious dogma. One authority

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Saxton to O. O. Howard, Nov. 28, 1865; Tomlinson to Saxton, Nov. 20, 1865; The Nation, I (Dec. 21, 1865), p. 779.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, May 6, 1866, July 7, 1866, Nov. 3, 1866.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> C. H. Howard to Saxton, Nov. 29, 1865; Whittemore to R. K. Scott, April 17 and May 25, 1866, Jan. 1 and March 28, 1867; Charleston *Daily News*, March 9, 1868.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Wright to Tomlinson, Dec. 7, May 19, and Dec. 28, 1866; Alrutheus A. Taylor, The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction (Washington, 1924), pp. 90-91.

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has declared that the threefold mission of the teachers was "to educate. convert, and save," although it should be noted that the prominent Freedmen's Union Commission did warn its emissaries that they were instructors and not "missionaries, nor preachers, nor exhorters." 16 More often than not the course offerings appear to have been better suited to the needs of a people socially and industrially proficient than of one just emerged from bondage. It is not surprising, of course, that this should have been the case, since by training, temperament, background and belief, the missionaries were ill-prepared to give any other kind of instruction. It is nevertheless deplorable that they made little effort to meet more effectively the needs of the freedmen by teaching them to become better artisans, housewives, and farmers. Not all of the offerings. to be sure, were of non-vocational variety, since sewing courses were frequently given; but vocational studies proper were almost uniformly neglected. Instead, the curriculum was filled with such studies as the geography of Europe, Asia, and South America, classical literature, physiology, natural philosophy, and Latin.17 A traveler in the state. answering his own question concerning the "use and value" of the schooling being offered the Negroes, concluded that it would fit them for "the situation of a clerk, or for keeping a shop," but not at all "for field labour." 18 Of course, vocationalism was not the answer, since this would have destined the blacks forever to remain only accomplished hewers of wood and drawers of water; rather, had the classical curriculum received somewhat less attention, and the industrial arts somewhat more, the freedmen would have been infinitely better prepared to cope with the problems of freedom about them. Apparently the educational missionaries never realized that a fundamental paradox attended their efforts: if, as they claimed, slavery had been so degrading and benighting, the Negroes could not possibly have been ready to attain with one giant stride the complexities of a civilized culture.

In preparing for the new school term of 1866-1867, Tomlinson sought to co-ordinate more effectively the labors of the various benevolent societies. In particular did he seek to have every teacher of freedmen in the state report regularly to him. He sent to all of the private agencies printed forms calling for such data as the name, location, and size of the schools, length of session, studies taught, classification of students

<sup>16</sup> Swint, Northern Teacher in the South, pp. 37, 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Observations are based on innumerable teachers' reports concerning courses of study in various schools. For examples, see Box 491 of Bureau records for South Carolina.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> F. Barham Zincke, Last Winter in the United States (London, 1868), pp. 102-103.

by grade, and the attitudes of local whites toward Negro schooling. But he never succeeded in getting full co-operation from the teachers. Some simply ignored his efforts, and others flatly refused to submit a report because, they said, the Bureau had no authority over them. Consequently, the superintendent never knew with exactitude just how many schools were in operation.<sup>19</sup> Another cross which he had to bear was the occasional outburst among religious groups of a rivalry so strong as to impede the entire effort. At one time, among three different Methodist factions in the state, animosity developed to the degree that it became impossible "to secure unity of action among the Colored people because of the division among them on this subject." In a second instance, the Freedmen's Union Commission objected vigorously when another group sought to establish with Bureau support a school in the same city as the Commission's.<sup>20</sup>

In spite of such handicaps, Tomlinson looked forward to the new term with confidence, persuaded that greater gains in education would be registered. Particularly was he encouraged by the fact that Congress, in renewing the life of the Bureau during the summer of 1866, had furnished the agency with a sizeable appropriation, thereby making it possible for the educational aims to be more ably implemented. During the fall, most of the institutions of the previous year re-opened and, as before, were received with general enthusiasm by the Negroes.21 Occasionally, it is true, the zeal for learning was dispelled by the fatigue of concentration. One teacher in a school that held daily sessions of only three hours, with time out for recess, observed that her pupils "found sitting still and mental application the most laborious task they had ever been set to do." 22 Such instances, however, appear to have been exceptional. The great majority of freedmen remained avidly interested, as evidenced not only by their attendance but also by their contributions of twice the amount of money they gave the year before. Exemplifying the devotion of the more determined was the work of Charles Hopkins, a former slave at Greenville, who had somehow gained a smattering of learning during his bondage. Without property and without the backing of an organized society, he managed to raise over two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Many printed forms are in Box 491 of Bureau records for South Carolina. For an instance of a teacher objecting to filling out the reports, see W. H. Holton to Mrs. C. S. Riley, March 20, 1868.

Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, Oct. 9, 1866; H. H. Griffin to E. L. Deane, Nov. 18, 1869; Freedmen's Union Commission to O. O. Howard, May 1, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, Nov. 3, 1866.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Elizabeth G. Rice, "A Yankee Teacher in the South," Century Magazine, LXII (May, 1901), pp. 151-54.

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hundred dollars in contributions from the city's whites and then to borrow about three hundred more. With this sum he rented a plot of land, enlisted the support of fellow freedmen in dismantling and re-erecting an old warehouse as a school, and began to teach. Handicapped by a scarcity of money, and badgered by his creditors, he labored alone for several months to keep the institution alive. With the timely aid of the Bureau, he succeeded ultimately in getting a teaching force of five and in transforming the school, according to Tomlinson, into one of the best in the state.<sup>23</sup>

By January 1867, some 69 day and night schools were in operation throughout the state, a third of which were being sustained in part by the freedmen; almost 8,000 pupils were enrolled under a teaching staff of 92 white and 43 colored instructors. Tomlinson believed that in addition there were at least 40 unreported institutions with an enrollment of 4,000 and a faculty of 60.24 Between this time and June there was but slight change, so that at the end of the term, 73 schools were reporting, with 139 teachers and slightly over 8,000 enrollees, besides the total of unregistered institutions. In all, during the 1866-1867 school year, nearly \$107,000 were spent in the state for the cause of Negro education, exclusive of the cost of the transportation furnished to teachers. Of that amount the Bureau had contributed for rentals and repairs about \$25,000, benevolent societies about \$65,000, and the freedmen \$17,000. Contributions of the private associations consisted principally of salaries for teachers, whose rate of pay averaged about \$45 a month in the Charleston region and \$35 in the interior.25

To typify the best class of Negro schools in the state, Tomlinson could point to Avery Institute in Charleston, founded in 1865 as the Saxton School by the American Missionary Association. Its superintendent was Francis L. Cardozo, probably the most prominent Negro in the state and certainly the best-educated. A free-born mulatto of Charleston, he had been graduated with honors from the University of Glasgow and had ultimately become a Presbyterian minister in Connecticut. Under his able guidance, Avery had grown until in June 1867, it had an enrollment of 1,000 and an average attendance of 800. In reading and arithmetic, students apparently were permitted to proceed as rapidly as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> John W. De Forest, A Union Officer in the Reconstruction, ed. James F. Croushore and David M. Potter (New Haven, 1948), pp. 118-21; De Forest to R. K. Scott, Dec. 31, 1866; Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, March 26, 1868.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, Nov. 30, 1866 and Jan. 31, 1867; *The Nation*, IV (Feb. 28, 1867), p. 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, July 1, 1867; J. T. Trowbridge, The South: A Tour of Its Battle-Fields and Ruined Cities (Hartford, 1866), p. 570.

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their ability warranted with classification in the former, ranging from primer through fifth reader, and in the latter, from simple addition through compound proportion. Besides these subjects, grammar, penmanship, and geography were also offered.<sup>26</sup>

At the opposite extreme in quality stood the numerous one-room affairs, taught by former slaves whose knowledge in most instances barely surpassed that of their students. The curriculum of such schools is not indicated in the Bureau reports, but it could not have comprised much else than the barest rudiments. A letter by one of these teachers, dated "febury 15" at "edg field destric," supports such an assumption. "I received your letter," he wrote, "and I am teachen Still at the ridge al tho I ant at the Same place. . . . the bush whackers says I Should not keep School thare. . . . This is the letter that I received and it looks verry Strange in deed thair wars but one name . . . and thar fore it looks quare and if no accedent takes place I will con tin ure here al the year." 27

After two full years of educational endeavor, from the fall of 1865 until the summer of 1867, the Bureau and co-operating private societies had cause both to rejoice and to despair over their work. Undeniable gains had been registered. For each of the terms there had been an average, reported and unreported, of 11,000 students and 185 teachers in 94 day and night schools. Freedmen had proved their enthusiasm for schooling, not only by embracing eagerly the opportunity, but also by making as much financial contribution as their limited means allowed. Thousands of illiterates had learned to read and had mastered the fundamentals of other subjects as well. Many of those engaged in the great crusade thus were heartened by the signs of progress. Wrote one: "The work of educating, evangelizing, and raising from a state of involuntary servitude . . . the four millions which . . . have known no government save the government of the master's leash, is the grandest march towards civilization that ever graced the pages of American history." <sup>28</sup>

Yet there was also cause for despair. Two years of industrious labor had left unreached four-fifths of the estimated 130,000 Negroes of school age.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, there were signs that a native sentiment which had never been overly friendly toward the movement was crystallizing into pronounced opposition, although to generalize too broadly on this matter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, July 1, 1867; Simkins and Woody, South Carolina During Reconstruction, pp. 116-17; David Macrae, The Americans At Home (New York, 1952), p. 266; Jackson, "Educational Efforts," p. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Elizabeth Dogget to William Stone, February 15, 1868.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> W. C. Hammond to W. H. Holton, June 28, 1867.

 $<sup>^{29}</sup>$  This figure of 130,000 is a conservatively arbitrary one, based on estimates of various Bureau officials.

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is hazardous. Actually, during the preceding two years the whites had evinced every possible kind of sentiment, from open hostility to friendly encouragement. Regarding their feeling in 1865, Tomlinson had written: "There is a settled determination that the colored people cannot and therefore must not be educated." Yet in the next month the Charleston board of education took steps to execute its resolution "That the Board are deeply impressed with a sense of importance of providing the means of education for the children of colored people." 30 In July 1866, the Bureau's national superintendent of education wrote that throughout the South, white objection to schools was so great that only "military force . . . will prevent the frequent outbreak of every form of violence." Yet six days later the superintendent for South Carolina related that white opposition was becoming less firm and that in several localities planters had requested aid in establishing schools for freedmen.31 It was also during this same period that the two most notable efforts at Negro education by native Carolinians were undertaken. One of these was the opening of Morris Street school to freedmen by the city of Charleston, the only such case in the state of municipal authorities voluntarily assuming the support of a colored school; the other was the establishment by A. Toomer Porter, Episcopal rector of Charleston, of an institution for freed children. Following a successful money-raising campaign in the North and aided by the support of his own denomination's board of missions, Porter was able to begin operations with an enrollment of 1,800 and a faculty of 15 Charleston women.32 Other whites in the state also gave help to Negro schooling by such contributions as land, buildings, and money.33

On the other hand, there is no doubt that bitter white opposition did exist in some quarters. One agent, writing of his attempt in four state districts to establish schools, declared that "public sympathy and opinion is against such a project"; others reported that whites ostracized teachers, refused to rent rooms to them, sometimes broke up the schools,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Tomlinson to Saxton, Nov. 22, 1865; Burchill R. Moore, "A History of Negro Public Schools of Charleston, South Carolina, 1867-1942," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of S. C., 1942), p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> J. W. Alvord, Letters from the South Relating to the Condition of the Freedmen (Washington, 1870), II, 2; Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, July 7, 1866.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> A. Toomer Porter, Led On! Step by Step (New York, 1898), pp. 210-23;
E. L. Deane to O. O. Howard, Jan. 20, 1870; Kate B. Savage to E. L. Deane,
June 30, 1870.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Samuel Place to R. K. Scott, Sept. 22, 1866; James Green to R. K. Scott, Jan. 23, 1868; T. G. Wright to Ralph Ely, Dec. 7, 1865; Keowee Courier, Aug. 11, 1866.

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and occasionally drove the teachers from the community.34 In most cases, apparently, white hostility was directed less toward Negro education as such than against the particular brand allegedly being offered by Northerners. Certainly it does not appear that any odium attached to a native's either supporting or teaching in schools for blacks. Almost without exception newspaper editors urged young Carolinians to undertake such work in order that the freedmen might be trained as they should be. Southerners, ran a typical editorial, must enter the field and thereby counteract the undesirable influence of those "whose only prejudices and education are opposed to our ideas" and who have "maligned and traduced the Southern people." 35 Such advice did not go unheeded. To cite but a few of many examples, in Anderson, 3 native whites were engaged in conducting schools for Negroes; in Laurens an ex-Confederate was reported doing an excellent job of educating freed children; in Kershaw district, of a total of 15 teachers, 5 were native whites; in Barnwell district, the only Negro school in existence was one operated by a Southern woman; at the Morris Street school, 8 of a faculty of 17 were Southern whites.36

Specifically, then, most whites appear not have opposed schooling for the freedmen, but the kind being given them by outsiders. Northern teachers, they complained, too often used the classrooms to belittle the South, to preach social equality, and to instill ideas in the Negroes that made for ill feeling between the races. Whether or not the charges were true of a majority of the missionary educators is difficult to say, but certainly there were enough individuals with unfeigned contempt for the section and its way of life to lend a degree of truth to them. It was hardly discreet, for example, for one of the most prominent leaders of the movement in the state to describe in public print the mission of the schools as that of transforming "the whole lump of Southern ignorance and prejudice." <sup>37</sup> "I say that if these pernicious principles are persisted in," wrote one native white in heated alliteration, "the day is not distant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Whittemore to Saxton, Dec. 30, 1865; George Gile to R. K. Scott, May 18, 1866; Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, Nov. 3, 1866; Benjamin Runkle to R. K. Scott, Oct. 12, 1866.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Columbia Daily Phoenix, Sept. 21, 1866; for other editorials, see June 26 and Aug. 10, 1866; Keowee Courier, April 22, 1870; Charleston Courier, Jan. 18, 1867.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Laurensville Herald, Aug. 5, 1867; Columbia Daily Phoenix, April 3, 1867; Yorkville Inquirer, July 26, 1866; Charleston Daily News, June 26, 1867; William Nerland to R. K. Scott, April 30, 1867; J. D. Greene to R. K. Scott, Oct. 30, 1866; Samuel Place to R. K. Scott, Sept. 22, 1866.

<sup>37</sup> Swint, Northern Teacher in the South, p. 58.

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when we shall see thousands of our colored people wandering through the country without food, raiment, or homes." <sup>38</sup> Galling in the extreme, natives remonstrated, was the fact that schools built and paid for by whites were often used for such purposes, while their own children were denied this free education except at the sacrifice of their belief in segregation. <sup>29</sup> Nor were white sensibilities soothed by Negro pupils, under the direction of their instructors, assembling on the Fourth of July to honor such idols as John Brown, Thaddeus Stevens, and Parson Brownlow. One such occasion witnessed the following tribute being offered Brown: <sup>40</sup>

Who talks of deeds of high renown?
I sing the valiant martyr Brown.
I love the Doctor of the West,
May his pure soul in quiet rest.
Let nations weep the martyr's death,
Let children lisp with early breath,
The name of Brown, above all men,
Who e'er have lived in mortal ken.

White opposition to the program of Negro schooling was at first uneven and unconcerted. But in 1867, owing largely to the emergence of the Negro as a political force, antipathy became widespread and aggressive. The Reconstruction measures intensified native feeling, not only against Negro schools and their teachers, but also against the blacks themselves. The assistant commissioner reported "an alarming increase" in outrages and crimes as a result of feeling over political matters. Tomlinson declared that while whites generally were becoming less opposed to education for the freedmen, "there is no corresponding decrease of hatred for the 'Yankee teacher,' and for Northern influence as it is called." He concluded: "The principal reason assigned in justification of this wish to get rid of Northern teachers is that Politics is taught in our Schools." <sup>41</sup>

Whether or not white opposition and political agitation were principally responsible is unclear, but the fact remains that, during the session of 1867-1868, there was a decline in both the number of Negro schools and of the students enrolled. The decrease apparently was not attributable to a declining interest among the freedmen, for the superin-

<sup>88 &</sup>quot;A. F.," Keowee Courier, June 9, 1866.

<sup>39</sup> Charleston Daily News, Aug. 30, 1866.

<sup>40</sup> Sumter Watchman, July 18, 1866.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> R. K. Scott to O. O. Howard, Aug. 14, 1868; J. R. Edie to O. O. Howard, Oct. 19, 1868; William Stone to J. R. Edie, June 1, 1868.

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tendent related in the fall that their enthusiasm was as strong as ever. Whatever the reason, midway in the term only 56 institutions were reported in operation, contrasted to 73 a year earlier. As in the past, the great majority of the institutions were concentrated in the coastal area, although every district in the state had at least one. By the end of the year the reported totals were 62 schools, 144 teachers, all but 36 of whom were white, and about 7,500 pupils; Sunday schools associated with regular schools numbered 38 with an enrollment of 3,500. Tomlinson believed that almost as many students were attending unreported as reported institutions, so that over 15,000 freedmen were regularly enrolled throughout the state. During the year the Bureau had contributed for educational purposes over \$57,000, benevolent societies \$60,000, and Negroes about \$10,000, a grand total of \$127,000. The Bureau had also distributed gratuitously some 10,000 schoolbooks furnished by a private group in Boston. 43

Among the best institutions of the state was the Penn School No. 1 of St. Helena, directed by Laura M. Towne and supported by the Pennsylvania branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission. Established in 1862 with an enrollment of 132, it had during the intervening five years furnished instruction to approximately four times that number. Throughout the period, despite the necessity for frequent absence from school to work for a living and the severe handicap of receiving little or no moral training at home, the freed children had made remarkable progress in their knowledge of American history, physiology, grammar, geography, arithmetic, and civics. Corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure had never been used by the teachers. Instead, a more positive approach was employed through a system of rewards and honors for student achievement. For minor derelictions pupils were detained after school session and made to write a fixed amount; for major ones they were expelled, although this extreme had been utilized only four times.<sup>44</sup>

Despite the achievements of the Penn School and a few others of equal caliber, it is nevertheless clear that by 1868 the educational program in the state was entering a decline which, as it turned out, was to be permanent. During the new term of 1868-1869, the Bureau curtailed its aid to schools as its educational funds were further reduced from the previous year; Tomlinson resigned his post to accept an office with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, Oct. 1, 1867; Macrae, Americans At Home, pp. 296-98; Sumter Watchman, May 22, 1867.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, Jan. 31 and July 1, 1868; Charleston *Daily News*, March 19, 1868.

<sup>44</sup> Tomlinson to R. K. Scott, July 1, 1868.

state administration, thus taking from the movement the experienced leadership it still critically needed; and benevolent societies, because of a growing apathy among their supporters, slackened somewhat their efforts. The most immediate result was a decline in the number of institutions. Midway in the session the new superintendent, Horace Neide, reported that only 45 schools were still being maintained by the Northern associations. Broken down, the figures read: New England branch, Freedmen's Union Commission, 13, Pennsylvania branch 5, and the New York branch 3; American Missionary Association 10; Old School Presbyterian 6; Methodist Freedmen's Aid Society 5; Protestant Episcopal Home Missions 1; New School Presbyterian 1; and Friends' Association of Philadelphia 1. Besides these, 9 other institutions were supported either by the freedmen or by white sponsors, so that by the end of the year there were 52 day and 2 night schools, reporting a staff of 101 white and 28 Negro teachers, and an enrollment of 5,500.46

During the summer of 1869, Neide was succeeded as superintendent by Edward L. Deane, a longtime official of the Bureau. Under him the agency brought to a close its educational work, since by the middle of 1870 all its funds were exhausted and no more were forthcoming. Thereafter, the responsibility was to devolve upon the state government, which already was endeavoring to begin a tax-supported system of free public schools as called for by the new constitution of 1868.47 Despite the many signs of activity on the part of the state legislature. Deane was deeply concerned over the fate of Negro education. He had little faith that anything enduring would come of legislative enactment, and he was disturbed over the growing apathy among private Northern groups who, in the words of one discouraged teacher, "have got tired of giving." 48 After surveying the scene, he wrote pessimistically of the future of schools for freedmen in South Carolina. In the first place, he noted, for many years to come, economic necessity would continue to force freedmen to drop out of school after only a year or two, in order to begin earning a living. In the second, most of the individuals serving as county commissioner

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> O. O. Howard to R. K. Scott, July 31, 1868; J. R. Edie to O. O. Howard, Oct. 19, 1868; "Schools Supported by Private Associations, 1868," Vol. 47 and Box 490 of Bureau records for South Carolina.

<sup>46</sup> Reports of Neide, Feb. and May, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Simkins and Woody, South Carolina During Reconstruction, pp. 434-43. See also O. O. Howard to E. L. Deane, Sept. 1, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Cornelia Hancock to E. L. Deane, March 4, 1870. See also to Deane letters of M. R. Miller, April 11, 1870, Martha Schofield, May 6, 1870; Deane to O. O. Howard, June 30, 1870; F. D. Sewall to O. O. Howard, Jan. 14, 1869.

sioner of education, an office created recently by the legislature, were either illiterate or indifferent to their responsibilities, or both.

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Finally, even though the school system for freedmen had been in operation for several years, it was still encountering pronounced opposition from whites in some localities. At the little town of Walhalla, for instance, where the Methodist Episcopal Church had established an institution under the direction of a young woman from Vermont, local citizens had broken it up by employing an indirection rather atypical of white opponents. Hiring a vagabond Negro drunkard to attend the sessions and daily accompany the teacher through the streets, within a matter of weeks they had so discouraged her that she abandoned her mission. Deane concluded gloomily that "so much is daily said upon the dark side of this matter, that it is not pleasant for me [to] dwell upon it. I consequently do not feel willing to continue this communication further."

Only one consideration shed a ray of hope for the future. Three schools—Shaw, Avery, and Claffin University at Orangeburg—by June, 1870, were sending forth a total of one hundred Negro graduates to teach among their own people. These instructors could at least keep alive the spirit of the movement.<sup>50</sup>

Deane's final report, dated July 15, 1870, marks the close of the Bureau's educational effort in the state, since the last of the agency's funds had been spent. In this account he related that during the year nearly 9,000 students had been enrolled in 86 day and night schools under 198 teachers. But in light of the factors discussed above, it seems incredible that more institutions could have been functioning under Bureau auspices during 1869-1870 than during the previous year. Apparently, the superintendent did not bother to distinguish between those recently established by state authority and those maintained by benevolent societies; very probably, the latter did not number more than onehalf of his cited figure. The fifty Bureau-owned buildings, valued at about \$75,000, were given to the associations and individuals owning the land on which they were built, to be used in perpetuity as schools for the freedmen. Deane's observation about the system in the state ended on a lugubrious note. After indicating that this endeavor, still in its infancy, must be nurtured by the state administrations, he declared: "While I have confidence in the intentions of the State Superintendent to forward the work . . . , I am fully aware of the futility of his exertions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> E. L. Deane to O. O. Howard, March 1, 1870, and Jan. 20, 1870.

 $<sup>^{50}\,\</sup>mathrm{Taylor},\,Negro$  in South Carolina, pp. 87-93; E. L. Deane to O. O. Howard, July 15, 1870.

when measured against the ignorance and stupidity of the county school officials and the comparative indifference of our Legislature. . . . I therefore close my connection with this work with gloomy forebodings." <sup>51</sup>

So ended the great crusade of enlightenment for the state's Negroes. For the five years that the Bureau had been a part of the undertaking, impressive gains had been realized. There had been a yearly average, reported and unreported, of 85 schools, 175 teachers, and 10,000 students enrolled. During the period between five and six hundred thousand dollars had been spent for education, one-fourth of which had been furnished by the agency and the remainder by private groups and individuals. Aside from those who had received some elementary instruction at the Sabbath schools, probably twenty to thirty thousand Negro children had received some instruction at the regular institutions. Most important of all, the Bureau and the societies had established a principle, that of free public schooling, which was of undoubted influence in committing the state government during Reconstruction to such a course.

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On the other hand, much had been left undone. Probably three-fourths of the total school-age Negro population had never had contact with a regular school. Nor is it by any means certain that those who had attended the schools were always a great deal better equipped to adjust to their world of freedom, since the studies they pursued were so deficient in what a race just out of bondage needed most direly—training in vocational wark. Finally, it was true that while Northern teachers had often sacrificed heroically in the endeavor, they had not always brought lasting benefits with them. Often their conduct had been such that they had prompted the hostility of native whites against both themselves and the Negroes as well. By stressing excessively the welfare of the freedmen, they had implied that the interests of the blacks were distinct and separate from those of the whites, and they helped to intensify a racial antagonism which in time served as a discredit to the commonwealth and a detriment to the very group they were seeking to serve.

A comment made by the Bureau's national superintendent of education in 1870 about the South as a whole applies with particular relevancy to the situation in South Carolina: 52

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> E. L. Deane to O. O. Howard, July 15, 1870. The superintendent of education for the next six years was merely an "official clerk" whose duties consisted principally in "passing on to careless commissioners what portion of the school funds the administrators and legislators did not divert to improper uses." Simkins and Woody, South Carolina During Reconstruction, pp. 437-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Report of the Secretary of War, 1870. 41st Congress, 3rd session, House Executive Document 1, Serial 1446 (Washington, 1870), pp. 322-23.

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The masses of these freedmen are still ignorant. Educational associations unaided by the Government will largely fall off. . . . No one of them [the Southern states] is fully prepared with funds, buildings, teachers and actual organization to sustain these schools; the colored people yet in poverty . . .; opposition latent, indeed, but still existing. Who will lead on these dependent multitudes? . . . With sorrow we anticipate . . . the closing of hundreds of these school buildings, and sending thousands of children . . . to the streets, or what is far worse, to squalid houses, to grow up, not as the props and pillars of society, but its pests. Even what has been done . . . will, we fear, prove but half done if unfinished.

Half done and unfinished! This is a gloomy appraisal, but as a summary of the Bureau's educational accomplishments in South Carolina, it is not without validity.

## STATE AID FOR INDIGENT FAMILIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA SOLDIERS 1861-1865

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By WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW Kansas State College

Historians have long noted the economic weaknesses of the Confederate states as compared with those of the North. From the very beginning of the war the southern economy seemed to become increasingly stagnant. In whole areas of the Confederacy there was actually privation and an economic decline which often bore no relationship whatsoever to the proximity of the Union army. These economic deficiencies unquestionably were one of the principal reasons for its collapse.

At no point is this economic stagnation more apparent than in the problem of how to care for the families of soldiers.¹ The southern government was burdened from the start with this additional problem. In each of the states it demanded a solution, and a considerable amount of legislation and organized effort was devoted to this purpose. Although it was a problem of nation-wide magnitude, the Confederate government was inclined to regard it as one entirely in the province of state concern, and at first the states were equally willing to consider it a local matter.

There were invariably two factors which forced the states to take action concerning this problem. In the first place the scarcity of goods and rising prices brought forth loud complaints from many people but especially from the women whose husbands were in service. According to Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia for 1863, the depreciation of the currency was so serious that the states were forced to provide for the families of soldiers in order to "prevent local disturbances." <sup>2</sup> In the second place, the ever increasing problem of desertion could be attributed to the depressing economic situation. Soldiers left their units in order to aid their families at home. The states tried to save the lives of non-combatants and at the same time to raise the morale both at the front and at home.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Plain People of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1944). The general situation among the people of the Confederacy may be conveniently surveyed in this short work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> (New York, 1864), p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Edwin B. Coddington, "A Social and Economic History of the Seaboard States of the Southern Confederacy," unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Clark University, 1939, p. 107.

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Charles Ramsdell pointed out that when considering how this problem was handled it was permissible to make some general observations.<sup>4</sup> At first it was regarded as a local matter, but when it grew more extensive, state intervention became necessary. A second trend was to give at first monetary relief to those families, but as the currency system collapsed this was replaced by a system of relief in kind. Clothing, food, and other necessities were laboriously distributed. As home morale became more demoralized by the end of the war, it became necessary to resort to impressments and requisitions in order to obtain the needed goods.

A thorough study of the care of indigent families of soldiers is necessary to acquire a better understanding of the economic problems confronting the Confederacy. Many questions must be answered. How much money was actually available for this purpose, and how many people were receiving aid? How much goods was distributed? What local taxes were levied to supply funds, and how successful were county agents and officials in collecting them? How many persons were diverted from other duties in order to meet the problems of collection and distribution?

This article attempts to describe briefly the various methods instituted in South Carolina for the collection and distribution of goods and money to indigent families of soldiers. The study is not complete, for it does not treat local efforts to solve the problem.

The General Assembly first took cognizance of the situation in December 1861 when it provided that Soldiers' Boards of Relief were to be established in each tax district, to be composed of not less than five or more than ten freeholders. These boards were to have power to levy taxes on the residents in their respective districts to raise sufficient money to aid the families of men in service.<sup>5</sup> These taxes were not to exceed forty percent of the general state taxes in any given year.

The boards were also to exercise considerable care in approving applications for aid and were, if satisfied that the appeal was legitimate, to instruct their treasurers to make monthly or quarterly payments. Not only were the boards given the discretion of determining the frequency of such payments, but they were also empowered to decide whether to make them in money or in kind. They were to make regular reports

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Behind the Lines of the Southern Confederacy (Baton Rouge, 1944), pp. 62-68.

 $<sup>^{5}\,\</sup>mathrm{The}$  wives and children of men who volunteered for service were to receive aid.

of receipts and expenditures to the court of common pleas during each fall term.<sup>a</sup>

Approximately \$200,000 was collected by this means, but it was inadequate to provide for all those in need.<sup>7</sup> For this reason the original act was repealed after one year, and a new system was inaugurated whereby the state legislature assumed most of the burden of supplying relief.

The General Assembly appropriated \$600,000 to care for needy families of soldiers then in service or of those who had been killed or disabled. This money was to be divided among the election districts in accordance with the ratio of white population from the latest census records for apportionment of representatives.<sup>8</sup>

The combined delegations of both houses of the legislature from each election district were to nominate a slate of freeholders not eligible for draft. Not less than three or more than twelve in each district would constitute the Soldiers' Board of Relief. They could appoint a secretary-treasurer and fill all vacancies.

The state treasurer of the division in which each election district was situated would turn over the sums appropriated to these boards, which in turn would distribute funds directly to the needy or buy necessities.

The apportionment of funds to each district was to be made by the state comptroller-general and the state treasurers of the upper and lower divisions meeting in council. After one-fourth of the money appropriated to each district had been distributed, the balance was to be dispensed in quarterly installments. The boards were required to make regular reports to the state treasurers showing the distribution of funds, and the comptroller-general was made responsible to the legislature.

The money appropriated in 1862 was not entirely sufficient to meet the needs in certain areas. The legislature provided during the following year that the board in Barnwell District was to levy a special assessment to raise \$2,905.57 advanced by the board of the previous year, and similar provisions were made for the boards of St. Matthew's Parish, Laurens District, and Christ Church Parish.<sup>10</sup> During the same session \$200,0 shoes, Relief

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<sup>6</sup> Acts of the General Assembly, December 1861, no. 4569.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Charles E. Cauthen, South Carolina Goes to War, 1860-65 (Chapel Hill, 1950), p. 193.

<sup>8</sup> Acts of the General Assembly, Session, 1862-63, no. 4630.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., no. 4629.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$   $Ibid.,\,$  no. 4631. The three were empowered to raise \$375, \$1,000, and \$200, respectively.

\$200,000 was appropriated to supply destitute soldiers of the state with shoes, clothing, and blankets through the Central Association for the Relief of Soldiers in South Carolina.<sup>11</sup>

In December 1863, additional appropriations were made to care for needy soldiers. Half a million was granted to the Central Association to buy shoes, clothing, and blankets.<sup>12</sup>

The legislation now combined state assistance with local aid, and provided for a 2% tax in kind, to be paid by producers in any district or parish when required by the local boards. This levy was to be made on each bushel of wheat (or forty pounds of flour) and on the gross amount of all rice and corn grown in the state and on all toll made by the owners of grain mills. Also a levy of 5% was to be collected on all manufacturers within the state producing cotton yarns, leather, and salt.

The boards (not less than three or more than twenty-four members each) were to divide each district or parish into sections equal to their own membership. Each member would then be responsible for the levy in his respective area. In order to determine the amount of tax to be collected, they were to use the gross amount each producer returned in 1863 to the Confederate assessor for the national tax in kind.

The boards when collecting the 5% levy on manufacturers were to require the owners of factories enumerated in the act to deliver to them the amount of all goods produced at their establishment. The distribution of this was to be made in accordance with instructions from the comptroller-general in proportion to the number of persons of soldiers' families.

The amount of rice, corn, or wheat allotted each person was not to exceed ten bushels per annum. Any board having an excess was liable to a requisition for those areas less fortunate. The act also made an additional appropriation of \$500,000 which was to be distributed in accordance with the act of December 18, 1862.<sup>13</sup>

A resolution passed during the same session provided that the governor was to distribute salt, cotton cloth, and cards in accordance with the number of needy families supported by each board, rather than the system previously used. The state had forty-five election districts, and on the basis of reports from thirty-six of them, it was clear that the earlier system of basing distribution on the census figures of 1859 was unfair. Too many people had moved from their homes by 1863, and

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., no. 4612.

<sup>12</sup> Acts of the General Assembly, Session 1863, no. 4668.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., no. 4671.

<sup>14</sup> Reports and Resolutions of the General Assembly, Session 1863, p. 447.

many districts were not receiving a fair share of goods. Personal grants varied from \$5.16 to \$29.73 in the districts, which gives some indication of the inequalities of the system.<sup>15</sup> To correct this situation, it was decided to make the monetary distribution on the basis of the number of families actually in need rather than on the census figures.

The most comprehensive act was passed during 1864. This increased the levy from 2% to 3% on corn, rice, and wheat, and a similar levy for syrup made from sorghum or cane. No levy was to be made on comsyrup, wheat, or rice where the gross amount produced did not exceed 100 bushels, 50 gallons, 20 bushels, and 50 bushels respectively. The producers of wheat were again given the option of substituting flour. The same 3% levy was to be paid by owners of toll grain mills. The levy on manufactured goods was reduced to 3% but the enumerated list was increased to include cotton and woolen goods including varns, iron, nails, and other ironware, cotton and wool cards, hats, caps, paper, stoneware, terebene oil, and turpentine. The same boards of from three to twenty-four men, each presiding over one area in the district for a year, were to make quarterly reports to the auditor of all transactions. These men were exempt from the draft and from militia duty, and the secretary-treasurer of the board was entitled to take 1% of the collections for compensation.

The basis for determining the tax was still to be the returns to the Confederate government for the tax in kind. Districts producing a surplus were to supply those which had less, provided the goods did not have to be transported more than twelve miles. If a farmer was forced to pay all his corn to the Confederate government, he could substitute a money payment to the state boards.

In determining the tax in kind on manufactured goods, the boards were to ask those persons in charge to deliver before February first, 3% in kind of all enumerated goods produced during 1864, or 3% in money. The boards were to report to the state auditor the amounts received, and they were to make distribution in accordance with his instructions.

Another \$450,000 was appropriated, to be raised by taxes on land, Negroes, and capital invested in manufacturing. It was to be apportioned among the wives, widows, and children under twelve, of soldiers in service, or who had died or been disabled, and to those persons who previously had been dependent upon the labor of a man then in service. Nobody was to receive more than ten bushels of grain per year. Boards having a surplus were to make some of it available to other boards. Any

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<sup>15</sup> Coddington, op. cit., pp. 77-79.

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board still faced with a scarcity of goods, was to purchase grain from the state commissary, using for this purpose its share of the \$450,000.

This act also authorized the boards to use some money to benefit the families of free Negroes serving in the military forces of the state.<sup>16</sup>

Altogether the South Carolina legislature appropriated a total of \$1,550,000 for the care of needy families of soldiers. At first, aid was entrusted to local means. When this proved inadequate, the state assumed the entire burden, and before the war ended, the legislature was forced to rely on a system of state and local aid combined.

Even in this case the problem was far from solved. Dishonesty on the part of officials, and fraudulent claims by many families not really in need, unquestionably siphoned off much money, but this was not the trouble. There was just not enough goods to go around. Large quantities of available supplies were taken by Confederate agents collecting the tax in kind.<sup>17</sup> There was not enough to meet both the national and state needs, and the agents of the former took the disproportionate share. Increasing appropriations merely drove prices higher. Goods fell into the hands of speculators, and some states were forced ultimately to resort to requisitions and impressments. In South Carolina, although the situation was critical, this did not become necessary on a state-wide scale.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Acts of the General Assembly, Session 1864, no. 4701.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The tax in kind is described in John Schwab, The Confederate States of America (New York, 1904), pp. 292-293, 298-299, 301-302.

#### DIARY OF JOHN BERKLEY GRIMBALL 1858-1865

(Concluded from January)

21st. [July, 1864.]—A letter from my son William who is sick with fever in 3d. No. Ca. Hospital Charlotte Street. He went there on the 16th and his letter was dated 17th. July. This letter came by last night's mail, but through some mistake was not brought up by Josey. I recd. it at the office this morning and immediately wrote to William to go by tomorrow morning's train.

22d.—The mail of yesterday failed—nor is the train yet arrived tho it is now midday. My letter to William is therefore still at this office, I am quite anxious about him.

23d.—The train arrived this morning with the mail for the last three days—and left again for Alston, before the delivery of the letters it brought. I recd. one from my nephew Berkley Wilkins informing me that William is ill, it is thought, with Typhoid fever. I shall leave for town on Monday—this is Saturday and no train runs tomorrow.

I paid Oliphant this morning \$95 for a side of Bacon weighing 23% lbs. (\$4 per lb).

26th.—Left Spartanburg yesterday and arrived in town this Ev[enin]g—found my son William exceedingly ill with Typhoid fever. Dr. Geddings had been attending him since the 20th. William had been sick several days before Dr. Geddings saw him. He entered the hospital on the 16th. and was attended for some days by Dr. Memminger for bilious remittant fever, mistaking the case. Arthur called in Dr. Geddings on Wednesday the 20th. as soon as he came to town and saw how sick his brother was. He was also attended by Dr. Mitler, the Hospital principal nurse, when Dr. Memminger was put under arrest for some offense. When Dr. Geddings took charge of the Patient, Dr. Mitler carried out his instruction.

27th.—My beloved son William departed this life this morning about 7 OClock.

29th.—Yesterday the funeral services were performed at St. Pauls Church, by Rev. Mr. Gadsden—and the dear remains were placed in the Wilkin's vault in the yard attached to that Church. He rests by the side of his Aunt Eliza, who left this painful life a little less than a year

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ago. God has terribly smitten us—for he was a son most tender, affectionate and dutiful in his conduct towards his Parents, and devoted to the welfare of his brothers and sisters, by whom he was greatly beloved. He was a good man—and I believe is now in the enjoyment of a happy rest.

Being desirous of paying Lieut. Ed. Lowndes the amount which William had borrowed from him, and it being very difficult to manage it satisfactorily if I did not do so, on the 28th. whilst he was in town, I drew the interest on my Confederate stock yesterday to provide the funds. The interest on the Stock (Registered) amounted to 1276 dollars. After all Berkley could not find Lieut. Lowndes—and I sent Sam down today to Fort Johnson, with a note to him enclosing a check for \$270. Sam will bring up William's things.

The check was on the Bank of South Carolina (a written check) where I had deposited through the Presdt \$500. I afterwards gave the Undertaker John Wilson—sexton of St. Pauls, a check on the same Bank for \$297—which was the amount of his bill for all the funeral expenses. I shall deposit \$100 more, before the Bank hours tomorrow. I also gave my friend Mr. Geo. B. Reid \$30 to give Mr. Lining at the Hospital with a request that he would distribute it among the servants who attended William.

My friend, Mr. Geo. Reid, has at my request, taken the \$1900 dollar Confederate Scrip of Stock out of the package I placed in the South Carolina Bank for safe keeping—and has given it to me. The package, containing the rest of the papers, was replaced in the Bank safe. The 1900 dollar stock, I have placed in the hands of Heriot & Black for sale.

30th.—I gave to Mr. Reid—Presdt of So. Ca. Bank—\$100 to be placed to my credit in said Bank. Lieut. Lowndes writes me a feeling letter and says in reply to my enquiry as to any other indebtedness of William to him, that he had loaned W. money on two other occasions—on one the sum of \$40 and on the other \$10—making together \$50—for this I shall send him a check. Lieut. Kemper, who commanded the company to which William was attached—Wrote to me by Sam, a most touching and highly expressive letter as to his great attachment to William, and admiration of his qualities.

Wrote to my son John.

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The Mercury of yesterday contains a notice of William.

31st.—Attended service at St. Luke's Church. Gave Mr. Reid \$20 to put to my credit in his Bank—and wrote to Lieut. Reid enclosing a check on Bank of So. Ca. for \$50.

2d. Aug. [1864]—Arrived at Spartanburg—having [been] accompanied by my son Arthur—left Charleston yesterday morning. My son Berkley was to return to the Marion Artillery yesterday. Found letter from my friend Finley—such as a true and sympathizing friend would write—also recd. a letter from William's intimate friend William Savage Elliott.

4th.—Wrote to Elliott—Geo. Reid—DeFontaine & Co., and his Mother wrote to Berkley. Josey took them to the P[ost] Office.

5.—Wrote to Mr. VanderHorst. His Mother wrote to Lewis.

7.—Wrote to Berkley Wilkins-enclosing \$20 to pay Quinlan.

8th.—Mailed my letter to my friend Finley. Berkley arrived. Wrote to Quinlan.

9th.—Recd. a letter from John (Paris 6th. July).

12th.—The Lucas's sent round a subscription paper to increase Mr. McCulloch's salary. Meta put her name to \$20 and paid it.

15th.—Berkley left us this morning for Camp.

Wrote to John—enclosing to John Fraser & Co. in Charleston. Recd. receipt for the payment of my subscription to the Daily South Carolinian to 5th. Decr. 1864.

18th.—Wrote to Lewis—Army of Tennessee.

23d.—Recd. a letter from William's friend Wm. S. Elliott Esq. and a copy of a notice of William, which he and some other friends had ordered to be inserted in "the Guardian" a News Paper published at Columbia. It would appear, he said, about Tuesday, 23d. inst (today). He also desired on the part of himself and friends to be permitted to erect a tablet to his memory—and to put an inscription upon it—of which he sent me a copy. This is to be done after the war.

25th.—Wrote to Mr. Elliott gratefully expressing my sense of what had been done, and acquiescing in their wish about the tablet and inscription.

26th.—Wrote to Surgeon Steele, Newnan, Georgia—enclosing a letter for Lewis. Arthur is to leave us tomorrow. I gave him this morning \$25 to buy Quinine. He expects to be ordered to Fort Sumter. Gave Arthur \$15 more—in all \$40.

I have neither seen, nor heard of the Notice in "The Guardian."

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27th. Aug.—On the 27th. July, just one month ago, it pleased God to take from me my dearly beloved and dutiful son William. Our hearts are broken for he had our entire love, and we fondly hoped much in the future from his acknowledged talents—all this is crushed and buried in his grave. May God help us to be submissive to his will—it is too great a trial to bear unmurmuringly without his help. In addition to our grief for the one that is gone, is our anxiety about Lewis—who has been in bad health for some time and from whom we have had no letter for nearly six weeks. He is in the Army of Tennessee.

Arthur left us this morning to return to his duties in the Signal Corps. I gave Elizabeth a day or two ago \$20 with which to purchase a veil—and today I gave her \$30—for which she gives me a receipt on the bond. I now owe her \$200—the balance of the interest due 1st. January last (1864).

This mornings "Guardian" contains the "In Memoriam" on William—a feeling tribute from "Early and Attached friends."

31st.—Wrote to John—Care of John Fraser & Co. (Charleston).

1st. Sept. [1864].—Heard from Lewis. Is to be confirmed. Wrote to Arthur. Wrote to Wm. Savage Elliott (Greenville) enclosing a notice of my son William, for insertion in Johnston's proposed book—Roll of Honor.

2d.—Wrote to my friend Finley—an invitation to visit me. My funds on the 1st. for house and contingent expenses amounted to . . . \$390.

6th.—His Mother heard from Arthur last night—dated 1st. Sept. at Fort Sumter.

7th.—Wrote to W. Savage Elliott—to Columbia.

14th.-Wrote to John-from whom I heard lately-dated 30th. July.

19th.-E[lla?] gave Carson his first lesson.

20th.—The Bible Convention meets in this town today.

21st.—Cut our Sorghum this morning, the blades were stripped and the seeds cut off yesterday. The blades were pretty yellow. Major Vernon is to crush and boil for me at 1/3 of the Molasses for his trouble. He is to send for the cane without charge. His two-horse wagon took away the 1st load this morning. It took Josey and Adam about ½ hour to cut down, with hatchets about ¼ acre—which was the quantity planted.

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n-70 22d.—Received some of our molasses this morning—6½ quarts—sent the 2d. load of cane—only a portion of the first boiled yet. Afternoon. The wagon has just taken the 3d. and last load.

26th.—Recd. this morning the last of our molasses from Major Vernon— $3\frac{1}{2}$  gallons—which with that already recd. makes the whole yield—after deducting 1/3— $8\frac{1}{2}$  gallons. Ella began with her pupils—C. and M.

27th.—A letter from Manigault last night. I wrote to Geo. Reid today.

28th.—Paid Mr. White \$25 for a bushel of wheat—Padget present.

29th.—A letter from W. S. Elliott—consents to prepare a biographical notice of William for insertion in Johnson's "Roll of Honor." Since the fall of Atlanta, the public mind is greatly agitated, and despondency begins to prevail to an alarming extent. The prospect at this time is certainly very gloomy.

5th. Oct. [1864].—Paid Mr. Irwin \$130—in a check on the Bank of South Carolina in Columbia—dated this day—payable to Mr. William Irwin or to his order. This sum is for house rent for two months to 1st. Jany.—and also for the 2d. session of the school for Harry—the session will end with the present month. Had a talk with Mr. Irwin the result of which is that I am to continue to occupy this wing after the 1st. Jany. on the same terms as heretofore, with the understanding that I share equally in the expenses for keeping the fences and well in repair. John was written to by Gabriella yesterday, the 4th.—the letter was mailed today to the care of Fraser & Co. Charleston.

In yesterday's Columbia "Guardian"—is an advertisement of a place in the town of Chester—just within the Corporate limits, which has impressed me favorably. A Mr. L. C. Hinton advertises his farm of 150 acres—large house—outbuildings etc.—½ the farm in wood—½ in cultivated land.

13th. Oct.—Sold a Calf 10 months old to Mr. Cleveland at 90 cts per lb for the meat—reserving for myself the Skin—head—feet—liver—Tripe etc. The weight of the 4 quarters was 141 lbs.

14th.—Wrote to Geo. Reid, asking him to let me know how much could be obtained for the \$1900 Confed: Stock—and also requesting him to sell one of the thousand dollar Bonds he has in his keeping belonging to me, at any price not below par and to place the proceeds to my credit in his Bank.

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15th.—Recd. from Mr. Cleveland the money for the Calf (\$126.90 cts). I sent the hide to be tanned.

17th.—Bought and paid to Oliphant for 81/2 lbs bacon-\$42.50.

31st.—Recd. a letter from Geo. Reid, on Saturday informing me that he had sold, at my request, one of the Coupon \$1000 Bonds—at 101—and the proceeds \$1010 were to my credit on the Books of the Bank. The \$1900 Registered Stock was unsalable but at a ruinous discount. I wrote to him today—requesting him to sell the other Coupon Bond—and invest the proceeds in 4 per cents.

Miss Louise North came to us yesterday (Sunday) from Church, on a visit to Elizabeth of a couple of days—a very nice person.

 $\it 1st.~[Nov.,~1864]$ —Miss North left us this afternoon—Elizabeth accompanying her.

3rd. Nov.—Drew a check on the Bank of So. Ca. at Columbia in favor of myself or order—for which Mr. Oliphant was obliging enough to give me the amount without a charge. It was for \$200.

5th.—Drew a check on Bank of So. Ca. in favor of my son Arthur for \$50—a gift from me. I sent him a check for \$30 two or three days ago to pay the Ordinary's charge.

8th.—Wrote to Geo. Reid today—not to buy more than \$700 4 per cent.

9th.—A letter from Geo. Reid in reply to mine of the 31st. Oct:—has sold the other Coupon Bond—the proceeds amount to \$1020. Has not yet bought the 4 per cent. Having sold the two Coupon Bonds, I have now in the So. Ca. Bank for safe keeping the following—

1 Registered Bond (Confed) \$1900— 1 4 per cent Bond ( " ) 1000— 1 " " " " " 900—

10th. Novr.—Bought 200 lbs flour at 80 cts per lb. and will tomorrow give Mr. Oliphant a check on the Bnk of So. Ca. at Columbia for the amount—\$160.

11th. Novr. 1864-Gave Mr. Oliphant the check for \$160.

Today I exchanged with Mr. Irwin a blanket for 20 lbs bacon—or its equivalent in Pork. As bacon sells for \$4.25 cts per lb, the price for the blanket is \$85., the blanket was exchanged for the Stove.

12th.—Wrote Arthur enclosing a check for \$100, he had written requesting a loan to buy shoes.—I wrote also today to Col. Isaac D. Wilson of Society Hill, Darlington Dist[rict] applying to purchase from him 120 bus: Corn. I enclosed a letter of introduction from Mr. Henry D. Lesesne.

15th.—Bought one gallon Sorghum Syrup \$10—use it this Ev[enin]g.

21st.—Wrote to W. S. Elliott—Box 166, Columbia enclosing manuscripts—his and mine. Also wrote to my friend Peronneau. Wrote to Manigault on the 19th.

23rd.—Wrote to Geo. Reid.

25th.—Finished the bottle of Sorghum Syrup. Wrote to Mr. Charles Sinkler.

28th.—Foster & Judd took my check on Bank of S. C. at Columbia, for \$400 this morning, and paid me the money without charge. I wrote to Arthur to pay my Confed: Tax in Charleston— and enclosed a letter to Geo. Reid, authorizing him to deliver the two 4 per cent Bonds—(for \$1000 and 900) to Arthur, and also as much cash as may be necessary.

28th. Novr. 1864—I wrote to my son John, enclosing the letter to Messrs. John Fraser & Co., with a note requesting them to forward it.

29th.—Sent Josey to town to work on the Defences. He went under the charge of Mr. Bunch, Agent.

29th. Novr. 1864—A letter last night from Geo. Reid. He has purchased \$700 of 4 per cents for me at \$70 per centum, the amount is divided into 3 bonds—\$300—200—200. I now have of 4 per cents \$1000—\$900—\$300, \$200—\$200. The balance to my credit he says, on the books is \$1533. But this does not include certain checks which I have drawn upon the Bank lately. The real balance at this date is . . \$873.

In his letter of 29th. Oct: last, Mr. Manigault says that the amount of my return for Tax in St. Paul's is \$2430.00. The abandoned lands were not called for.

The Tax on this at 5 per cent is 24.20 per cent on that sum is 24.20 This will require a \$100 4 per cent—and \$45.70 in cash.

30th.—Called at Col. Harris's—saw and paid him \$30 for the hire of his wagon (2 Horse) yesterday. The wagon went to Genl. Millers for corn.

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Governor Bonham in his message of last Monday to the Legislature, says that with a voting population of about 47,000, South Carolina has sent to the field at least 65,000 men in this war.

5th. Decr.—Genl. Millers wagon brought me 13 bushels of corn, which with 12 recd. on the 30th. Novr. make up 25. I got this corn through the kindess of Major Lee.

7th.—I paid Major Lee for the corn this day—\$250. Wrote to Lewis.

8th.—Wrote to Col. William Alston of Fairfield on the subject of corn.

9th.—Sleet and snow last night. The ground perfectly white—very cold.

11th.—Began to use the Corn (25 bus.) lately bought. On the 3d. I enclosed to D. G. Fontaine & Co. \$10 as my subscription in advance to the "Daily South Carolinian", the old subscription being about to expire. \$10 will pay for the paper until about Feb: 20th.

Wrote to Arthur and to Geo. Reid. Certif. and money.

13th.—Wrote to Berkley.

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15th.—A letter from Arthur—has paid the taxes—and given the receipt to Geo. Reid—\$2000 in 4 per cent Certif: and \$399 in money. He tells me that John is 2d. Lieut. of the Shenandoah. Waddell Capt.—Whittle 1st. Lieut. Wrote to Arthur about Jeans for himself.

16th.—Wrote again to Arthur telling him to use the money he got for the china (\$65.50 cts) in the purchase of the cloth he needs for Pants—also desiring him to see about my Confed. Tax in St. Pauls—and giving him an order on Mr. Geo. B. Reid for the amount of that tax—to wit for a 4 per cent Bond for \$100—and \$45 in cash.

Meta wrote to Charlotte.

16th.—Bought 2 bus: Corn, which on being shelled turned out 2½ Bus: at \$12 per bus: .......\$24.
also 1 Bus: Wheat—less 3 quarts ......\$23.

A letter from Mr. Geo. Reid, has now in his hands belonging to me—three 4 per cent Bonds, each of them for \$200—will send them to me by first good opportunity—the balance of cash to my credit on the Ledger is \$574. I presume Arthur has not drawn the \$100 for which I sent him a check on the 12th. Novr. Besides the above Mr. R. has of mine a Certificate of Registered Stock—Confed: for \$1900.

Lewis's last lecter was dated 11th. Novr. Wrote to him today.

20th.—Wrote to John. And yesterday or day before to Mr. Manigault.

21st.—Bought at Oliphants 51/2 lbs bacon for \$27.50-pd.—

22d.—A letter from Mr. W. S. Elliott, enclosing Mr. Johnstons receipt for \$10—which E. had paid for me. I am to pay besides \$50, when the 1st. No. of the Roll of Honor comes out. William's Memorial, or the Sketch of him—will be issued in Nov. next. Wrote to Elliott today enclosing a check for \$10 on Bank S. C.

Savannah was exacuated by our troops on Tuesday night 20th. inst. Everybody much dispirited.

25th. Decr.—Christmas Day and Sunday.—I received this morning at Church a Packet which Geo. Reid had sent up to me by Dr. Frost. The Packet contained (3) 4 per cent Bonds of \$200 each. A Confed: Registered Bond for \$1900. Confederates Notes \$200. Hutchinson's receipt for Confederate Taxes. And a letter which I had written to Mr. Reid about my taxes.

I wrote today to my friend Geo. Reid acknowledging the receipt of the Packet.

27th.—Paid my Confed: Tax to Major Webber—the tax amounted in the total to \$528.54 cts. of which I paid \$400 in 4 per cent Bonds.

29th.—Wrote to Geo. B. Reid, enclosing an order upon the Assist. Treasurer at Charleston—for the interest on my Registered Stock—(the stock amounts to \$31,900) and requesting George to place the interest when received to my credit on his books—the interest will be \$1276.

1st. Jany: 1865—Wrote to Berkley and to Arthur. Our Army in Tennessee has met with terrible disasters and we are very uneasy about Lewis.

2d. Jany:—Wrote to Manigault enclosing a 4 per cent Certificate for \$200—to be used for my taxes (Confed:). The above Certificate was issued to the Planters & Mechanics Bank, by Alexr. Laughlin (Deposetary) dated Columbia Office—25th. Aug. 1864—and numbered 4292.

I also wrote today to F. G. DeFontaine & Co.—enclosing \$5—as my subscripeion to "the Portfolio" for 6 months.

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3d.—Gabriella has undertaken to give lessons on the piano to our neighbours, Miss Catty Irwin and Miss Maggy Reardon, at 75 cts per lesson of ½ hour to each—\$1.50 for the two. They are to come twice a week—and this morning they began.

5th.—Bought a hind quarter Beef (51 lbs) \$51.

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7th.—Josey returned from working on the coast this evening. He was discharged and left Ch[arles]ton on the 3d. inst.

10th.—I hired Adam to the Commissary, Capt. Wigg—yesterday at \$3. per day. He begins his work today. Mr. Oliphant gave me the cash for my Coupons this morning—\$233.50 cts.—of this sum \$17.50 cts belong to Elizabeth—\$12 to my son John—and \$4 to Gabriella.

12th. Jany.—Paid to Elizabeth \$100—in part of the interest due 1st. Jany 1864—the balance is \$100.

15th.—Since Monday 9th. inst, we have had no mail—the Rail Road between this and Columbia, and probably further on having been very seriously damaged by freshets occasioned by a prodigious rain of sixteen hours, which fell on Monday and Tuesday last. In this most critical period of our public affairs, it is exceedingly trying to be without news.

16th.—My Eldest daughter Elizabeth, left us this morning to become an assistant teacher in Miss Read's school at Unionville. She will be engaged chiefly with departments of French and Music. This necessity is a great distress to her Mother and myself, but the war has ruined us and we can not oppose this effort to support herself. May God bless and prosper her. Unionville is in the adjoining District of Union, about 28 miles. Since the payment I made her on the 12th. instant—I have paid her—at one time \$34 and at another \$20—making together \$54. This leaves a balance of \$46 due to her on the interest payable on the 1st. Jany. 1864.

Gabriella began today to give lessons to two children of Mrs. Goss—who are to come to her daily for two hours at \$5. per month each.

20th.—Wrote to Martin, enclosing a check on Bank of So. Ca. in Charleston for \$420—the interest on my bond to his Mother's Est. I wrote also my son Berkley. No mail yet since the 9th. inst[ant].

22d. Jany.-Wrote to Arthur.

23d.—Wrote to W. S. Elliott.

25th.—Drew a check on Bank of So. Ca. at Columbia in favor of myself or order—for which Pringle Johnstone gave me the money—it was for \$200. Recd. a few papers—letters from below.

26th.—A letter from Manigault, acknowledging the receipt of the \$200 Certif: Wrote to Geo. Reid. I drew a check on Bank of So. Ca. in favor of Arthur Grimball—and sent it to him today—a gift. He has sold the furniture in town—it netted \$1989.75 cts.

28th.—Drew a check on So. Ca. Bank (Columbia) in favor of myself or order for \$90—with which I bought 90 lbs of Flour from Oliphant. Will begin to use the Flour on the 30th. inst. Wrote to Martin yesterday, to Charleston, informing him that I had sent a check for \$420 to him, directing to Rantowles. Wrote to Berkley also.

29th.—I wrote to Mr. N. M. Porter, that I would keep my ½ share in Palmetto Company.

30th.—Wrote to my son John—as also did his Mother. Wrote to Mr. Jeter—Pres[iden]t S. & W. R[ail] Road.

30th.—A letter from Lewis—dated 14th. Decr.—near Nashville.

3d. Feb: [1865]—A letter from Lewis—Tupelo 15th. Jany. also one from Capt Matthewes—and one from Heyward Manigault enclosing a 4 per cent \$100 Certif[icate] and the tax receipt—also a letter from Arthur. I wrote to Manigault—to Arthur and to Lewis.\*

4th.—Wrote to Rev. Mr. Bowman enclosing a check on Bank of So. Ca. for \$100—and annulling our agreement. Wrote to Capt. Matthewes—declining to sell the furniture he had had taken away.

7th.—Wrote to W. S. Elliott.

Was summoned yesterday to do Patrol Duty tonight but it sleeted and snowed last night—and the earth is covered. I prefer not to risk an attack of Pneumonia—and shall not go.

10th.—D. Pinckney Johnston Jur. gave me \$300—for my check for that amount—on the Bank of So. Ca. at Columbia.

11th.—Saturday—Adam began again at the Commissary's.

14th.—Mrs. G. wrote to Berkley and I to Lewis and Arthur—snow storm. I have squared accounts to 1st. Jany. 1864—with my daughter Elizabeth—having placed a balance to her credit in money in the hands

<sup>e</sup> Between entries for November 1864 and February 1865, appear several memoranda of the year 1858 pertaining to Pinebury, which are here omitted. of her

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of nea of her Mother (\$29) this pays up my interest due on my bond to her to 1st. Jany. 1864.

19th.—Great alarm and confusion. Charleston is said to have been evacuated and Columbia is supposed to be in possession of the enemy. Mr. Breese, the Cashier of the Bank So. Ca. is here.

20th.—Mr. Breese cashed my check for \$1000—which is a great relief to me for I was very low in funds. He goes to Anderson.

23d.—My friend Peronneau Finley arrived this Ev[enin]g—stays with me.

28th.—Spartanburg is full of refugees from Columbia and all the country on the Charlotte Road. Nickerson's Hotel is among the buildings burnt at Columbia and Mrs. Butler's two trunks, which were in his charge, are doubtless burnt likewise. A gentleman informed me this morning that a trunk directed to me was brought as far as Shelby in No. Carolina by Mrs. Gayer—the wife of the Provost Marshall, and there left in charge of Mr. Frunnerberger.

Adam's wages were paid by the Commissary to Saterday night—the 25th. inst. The Governor is here.

Ist. March [1865]—W. S. Elliott is here. I called to see him this morning and invited him to dine tomorrow—he declined, being too much engaged, but will take the first spare moment to visit us. Prof. Porcher, whom I also desired to see, had gone this morning to Greenville. He came to S[partanburg] yesterday.

3d.—Lewis arrived here today. His regt. Part of the Army of Tennessee (Chathams Corps) passed through Unionville today. Lewis has a furlough for 10 days.

6th.-My friend Peronneau Finley left us this morning.

13th.—Lewis, left for the Army—and Elizabeth who came on the 10th., for Unionville.

14th. March 1865-Spartanburg C. H.

Today my son Harry rec'd from Govr. Magrath the appointment of Cadet in the State Academy from Colleton Dist[rict].

16.—Harry reported this morning to Capt. Chichester—he has leave of absence till Monday. Yesterday recd. a letter from my friend Peronneau Finley, enclosing \$150 for the purchase of six yards of Jeans. Jeans are dearer than when he was here, and I have advanced \$30 to

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ds ral make the purchase. I sent the parcel with a letter to Finley by a Mr. Cathcart, who brought his letter and was returning to Winnsborough.

25th.—Henry Peronneau and Mitchell Rogers—cadets—dined with us today.

1st. April [1865]—During the past week we have been cheered with rumors of the defeat of Sherman by Johnstone.

His Mother recd. a letter today from Arthur dated Raleigh 22d. March. He and Berkley are quite well—says they have had some hard fighting—and many gallant gentlemen had fallen. Letters to him are to be directed as follows—"Rhetts Batallion, Talliaferro's Division, Hardee's Corps; Johnstones Army." They were about 5 miles from Smithfield. His Brother Berkley was to go to Hillsboro, on the following day. Wagner and Ben Johnson, the latter a Cadet, dined with us today.

I have this day engaged from Major Smith—of Glenn Springs fifteen bushels of Corn at \$20 per bushel. I am to send for it.

5th.—Harry with the other Arsenal Cadets leaves tomorrow for Greenville. I have given him \$60 for Pocket money to last until 1st. Aug.

6th.—Harry went this morning. I wrote today to N. C. Breese, Cashier of Bank So. Ca.—enclosing a check in his favor \$1200—requesting him to draw the money and send it to me by some safe hand. I have a little more than that sum to my credit in that Bank.

7th.—Wrote to Gouvr. who may be at Greenville, recommending Harry to him.

8th.—Richmond was evacuated on the 2d. inst. Alas! Alas! Wrote to my friend Finley acknowledging the receipt of his check for \$30—in payment of the sum I had advanced for him—for the Jeans.

11th.—Wrote today to Lewis. Recd. letters from him, Berkley and Arthur. Engaged 2 bushels Cow Peas from a Mr. Finley, at \$20 per bushel.

17th.—My daughter Elizabeth returned to Unionville today after a visit to us of three or four days.

20th.—For the last three or four days there have been most alarming rumors about Genl. Lee and his Army. The rumors have been confirmed and the utmost consternation prevails. Genl. Lee has surrendered his Army, greatly reduced in numbers, to Genl. Grant at Appomatox C. H. in Virginia—this occurred on the 9th. inst.

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22d.—It is reported that Lincoln, Presdt. U. S., has been assassinated in the Theatre at Washington—and that at the same time an attempt was made to kill Seward in his own house where he was lying sick.

28th.—Arthur arrived by the Cars this evening, he is from Johnston's Army—has been sick with chills and fever—and is now here under transfer to a hospital in this place.

30th.—This afternoon about 4 OClock the Yankees (a Pennsylvania and a Michigan Regiment, under the command of a Genl. Palmer) made their appearance in this village—we are all very apprehensive of their usual outrages.

1st. May [1865].—The night passed quietly—none of the enemy came to our house. They did little or no damage to any one and about 10 OClock this morning left, it is said, for Greenville. We are beginning to realize that we are a conquered people.

2d.—Planted Sorghum.

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5th.—Elizabeth arrived from Union.

8th.—E. returned to Union.

10th.—My son Lewis arrived from the Army this morning ab[ou]t 6 OClock, Johnson's Army is disbanded.

12th.—My sons Berkley and Harry arrived by the cars this afternoon—the former from Johnstone's Army—the latter from Abbeville—the Cadets to which organization he was attached having been disbanded—at least the new appointments and the old cadets furloughed.

15th.—Harry resumed his attendance on Carlysle's school this morning.

17th.—Recd. a letter from Revd. Samuel H. Hay of Camden, informing me of the death on the 28th. April of my niece Annie Wilkins, at that place.

18th.—Wrote to Mr. Hay—and to Eliza and Sarah by Revd. Mr. McCullough who leaves tomorrow to attend the Diocesan Convention at Camden.

29th.—Sent a letter by Dr. Ned Geddings to Mr. VanderHorst requesting information as to the state of things—in view of a recent order as to the owners of lands.

8th. June, 1865.—We are extremely straitened for money—nothing but specie is current and I have nothing but Confederate notes which are as worthless as rags—on Salesday, 5th. June, I bartered a pistol—a navy revolver which belonged to my poor son William, for 10 bushels of Corn and 8 bus. Wheat.

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10th.—My Mother gave me a gold coin many years ago—as a keep-sake. I was forced to part with this and sold it for \$8.25 cts.

This morning Harry accompanied by Adam, is gone to Pacolet, and that neighborhood to purchase if he can some bacon for us. He takes \$6 in specie and sundry articles of apparel to barter.

17th.—Recd. the \$1200 in Confederate Notes, which Mr. Breese, the Cashier of the So. Ca. Bank had sent me. . . .

(Here ends the portion of the diary to be printed in this Magazine)

# REGISTERS OF SHELDON CHURCH, PRINCE WILLIAM'S PARISH, 1826-1947

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## Compiled by Marie deTreville and William L. Glover

## (Continued from January)

#### MARRIAGES

- Richard De Treville to Hetty Gregorie, Febr 23d 1826. By Revd. Edward Neufville. At A. F. Gregorie's.
- Chas. Wm. Watkins to Rebecca Martha Barns, July 5th 1827. By Do. At Sheldon Church.
- 3. Robt. W. Barnwell to Eliza Barnwell, Augt. 9th 1827. By Do. At Beaufort.
- 4. John Colcock to Anna McLeod, Jany. 10th 1828. By Do. At Wm Martin's.
- William Heyward to Mrs. M. A. Grimke, May 22d 1828. By Do. At Mrs. C. M. Heyward's.
- William Hazel to Mrs. Elizabeth Farmer, Decr. 20th 1831. By Revd. Charles P. Elliott. At Mrs. Hasel's.
- Charles C. Gregorie to Emily Gregorie, Nov. 5th 1835. By Revd Stephen Elliott, Senr. At A. F. Gregorie's.
- Thos. R. S. Elliott to Mary Cuthbert, [blank], 1839. By Do. At Mrs. Cuthbert's.
- John Webb to Elizabeth Heyward, [blank], 1839. By Do. At Mrs. Cuthbert's.
- Charles Jones Colcock to Caroline Heyward, [blank], 1839. By Do. At Mrs. Cuthbert's.
- Burwel Taber to Caroline Stanley, Octr 7th 1840. By Do. At James Stanley's. Whippy Swamp.
- Richard W. Colcock to Millicent J. Bacot, May 4th 1843. By Do. At Wm F. Hutson's. McPh[ersonville].
- Dr. Thomas H. Gregorie to Martha Gillison, July 18th 1845. By Do. At Gillisonville.
- Isaac P. Grimball to Eliza Jenkins, Novr 25th 1845. By Do. At Mr. M. Jenkins'.
- Thomas Barns to Elizabeth Godley, [blank], 1846. By Do. At Christ Church.
- Wm Henry Trescot to Eliza Natalia Cuthbert, dau. Thos C[uthbert], Feb......, 1848. By Rev. Chs. E. Leverett. In St. Helena Church, Beaufort.
- Richd J. La Roche to Sarah J. Mackay, dau. G. C. M[ackay], March 5, 1850. By Do. At Mr. Geo. C. Mackay's.
- Middleton Hanckel to Augusta Heyward, dau. Wm H[eyward], March 30, 1852. By Do. At Sheldon Church.

 William Elliott to Eliz[abet]h. Gregorie, dau. Jas. G[regorie], Dec. 13, 1854. By Do. At Greenwood, Pr[ince] W[illia]ms.

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- Louis M. De Saussure, Junr., to Anne Heyward Leverett. April 13, 1858.
   By Do. At Sheldon Church.
- Thomas Sallie to Anne C. Mackay, Feb. 20, 1861. By Rev. Edw Reed. At Mr. George C. Mackay's.
- David Maybank to Miss Mary Pope Frampton, March 18, 1868. By Rev. E. E. Bellinger. At Residence of Bride's Father.
- Howard E. Vincent and Miss C. Gertrude Wyman, Dec 9, 1869. By Do. At Residence of Bride's Father.
- Edward Julian Bailey and Miss Margaret Louisa Mc Kee, Apr. 11, 1870.
   By Do. At Residence of Bride's Father.
- Dr. Arthur P. Prioleau and Miss Alice C. Chisolm, Dec. 9, 1876. By Do. Residence Bride's Father, Coosaw[hatchie].

## Col[oure]D MARRIAGES

Hercules, belonging to Rev. Mr. Webb, and Sary, belonging to Rev. Mr. Leverett, mar[rie]d by C. S. Leverett. Dec. 5, 1852.

Eleck, servant of Mrs. Fraser, to Lydia, servant of Mrs. Chaplin. Married April 7, 1860. By Rev. Edw. Reed.

### BURIALS

- John McLeod, M. D., d. May 25th 1826, bur. May 26th. By Revd. Edwd Neufville, at Stoney Creek. Age 25 yrs.
- Allister Fraser, d. Novr. 6, 1826, bur. Novr. 7. By Do. At Stoney Creek. Age 19 yrs.
- 3. Hetty De Treville, d. Novr. 21st 1826, bur. Novr. 22nd. By Do. At Stoney Creek.
- Martha McNeill, d. July 5th 1827, bur. July 6th. By Do. At Private House. Age 79 yrs.
- Henry Bowles Hunter, d. July 7, 1827, bur. July 8th. By Do. At Private House. Age 3 yrs.
- John Rhodes, d. Octr. 4th 1827, bur. Octr. 5th. By Do. At Private House. Age 85 yrs.
- Charlotte Charity Heyward, d. [blank], bur. [blank]. By Revd Thos. J. Young. At Private House.
- 8. Robert W. Mackay, d. [blank], bur. [blank]. By Do. At Stoney Creek.
- Thomas Heyward, d. Novr 3d 1828, bur. Novr. 4th. By Do. At Stoney Creek.
- Dr. George Cuthbert, d. Novr. 4th 1828, bur. Novr 6th. By Do. At Stoney Creek.
- James McPherson, d. March 22d 1829, bur. Marh 23d. By Do. At Stoney Creek.
- Thomas Heyward, d. June 20th 1829, bur. June 21st. By Do. At Private House. Age 13 mths and 3 dys.

 Esther Gregorie, d. July 16th 1829, bur. July 17th. By Do. At Private House. Age 22 mths.

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- Thomas H. Wayne, d. July 25th 1829, bur. July 26th. By Do. At Stoney Creek. Age 35 yrs.
- Dr. Thomas K. Wilson, d. Sept 20th 1831, bur. Sept. 21st. By Revd. Chas. P. Elliott. At Stoney Creek.
- Ann Chisolm Mackay, d. Sept. 22d. 1831, bur. Sept. 23d. By Do. At Sheldon. Age 6 months.
- 17. William Hazel, d. Sept. 30th 1831, bur. Oct 2d. By Do. At Sheldon.
- Mary W. Colcock, d. Octr. 10th 1831, bur. Octr. 11th. By Do. At Sheldon.
- Daniel Heyward, d. Novr. 8th, 1831, bur. Novr. 9th. By Revd. Thos. J. Young. At Sheldon.
- 20. Rebecca Saltus, d. Novr. 29th, 1831, bur. Decr. 1st. By Revd. C. P. Elliott. At Sheldon.
- 21. Francis Saltus, d. Decr. 10th 1831, bur. Decr. 12th. By Do. At Sheldon.
- Ephraim M. Mackay, d. Febr. 6th, 1832, bur. Febr. 7th. By Do. At Sheldon.
- 23. Mrs. Ferguson, d. May 12th, 1832, bur. May 13th. By Do. At Sheldon.
- Wm. Skirving Smith, d. Augt. 17th, 1832, bur. Augt. 18th. By Do. At Sheldon.
- Mrs. Edward Brailsford, d. Jany. 21st, 1833, bur. Jany. 23rd. By Do. At Sheldon.
- 26. William Barns, d. Jany. 11th 1834, bur. Jany. 12th. By Do. At Sheldon.
- 28. Mrs. Barns, d. Jany.\_\_\_\_, 1837, bur.\_\_\_\_. By Do. At Sheldon.
- 29. Mr. McIlvaine, d. Jany. 1837, bur. [blank]. By Do. At Sheldon.
- 30. Mrs. John Law, d. Jany......, 1837 bur. [blank]. By Do. At Stoney Creek.
- Latham Wilson, d. July 31st, 1838, bur. Aug. 1. By Do. At Stoney Creek. Age 27 yrs.
- James Cuthbert, d. Aug. 16th 1838, bur. Aug. 17th. By Do. At Stoney Creek. Age 43 yrs.
- Dr. Robert Deas, d. Jany......, 1839, bur. [blank]. By Rev. Stephen Elliott, Senr. At Stoney Creek.
- 34. John Jenkins Mackay, d. Sept. 16th 1839, bur. Sept. 16th. By Do. At Sheldon. Age 5 mths and 10 days.
- Euphemia S. Patterson, d. Octr. 12th, 1839, bur. Octr. 13th. By Do. At Stoney Creek.
- 36. Mary Barnwell Wigg, d. Octr. 20, 1839, bur. Octr. 20th. By Do. At Stoney Creek.
- 37. Ann Heyward, d. April 13th, 1840, bur. April 15th. By Do. At Sheldon. Age 6 years.
- Dr. William H. Wilson, d. July 29th, 1840, bur. July 30th. By Do. At Stoney Creek. Age 26.

 John Heyward, d. Novr......, 1840, bur. [blank]. By Do. At Sheldon. Age 33.

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- Robert Barnwell Wigg, d. Jany. 29th 1841, bur. Jany. 30th. By Do. At Stoney Creek. Age 7 weeks and 5 days.
- 41. Mrs. John Hall, d. June 10th, 1841, bur. June 11th. By Do. At Sheldon.
- Edward Palmer Hutson, d. July 14th, 1841, bur. July 14th. By Do. At Stoney Creek.
- 43. [Blank] Raoul, d. July 21st, 1841, bur. July 22d. By Do. At Stoney Creek.
- 44. Susan Love, d......, 1842, bur. [blank]. By Rev. Mr. Eady. At Stoney Creek.
- Mrs. Ord, d. Jany......, 1842, bur. [blank]. By Rev. S. Elliott. At Saltketcher.
- Mrs. Mary Crosby, d. July 1842, bur. [blank]. By Do. At Coosaw-[hatchi]e Swamp.
- [Blank] Chisolm, d. Nov......, 1842, bur. [blank]. By Do. At Sheldon. Age child.
- Mrs. Isabel H. De Saussure, d. Jan 10th, 1844, bur. [blank]. By Do. At Beaufort. Age 34.

(To be continued)

## MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE OF CHARLESTON 1824

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## Compiled by Elizabeth Heyward Jervey

(Continued from January)

Died, in Boston, very suddenly, the Hon. Abraham Lincoln, of Worcester, a member of the Executive Council of Massachusetts aged 63. He had transacted business in the Council but a few hours before his death, and was a corpse in less than one hour after he had been seized with a fainting fit, as he sat at the door of his boarding house. . . . (Saturday, July 17, 1824.)

Died, at New York on the morning of the 8th July, Mrs. Lydia C. Weyman, wife of Mr. Edward B. Weyman, formerly of this city. (Monday, July 19, 1824.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Captain Robert and Mrs. Coleman, and of Mr. and Mrs. John Smith, also the Marine Society, are invited to attend the Funeral of the former from his late residence in Mazyck-street, at five o'clock This Afternoon. (Tuesday, July 20, 1824.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mrs. S. C. Hodgson, are requested to attend her funeral, at 9 o'clock This Morning from her home, Gadsden's Alley. (Tuesday, July 20, 1824.)

Departed this life suddenly on the 29th of June last, Mrs. Hannah Moser, consort of Dr. Philip Moser, a native of Northampshire, England and for 36 years a respectable inhabitant of this city. . . . She has left husband, brothers, sister and children, to lament their irrecoverable loss. . . . (Tuesday, July 20, 1824.)

Died, at his residence in St. Matthews Parish, on the 2d inst. John M. Caldwell, in the 54th year of his age. . . . Honest and correct through life in all its callings, his friends cannot but mourn his sudden disolution. . . . (Tuesday, July 20, 1824.)

Departed this life, on Wednesday, the 30th of June, after a short illness of twenty-two hours, which he supported with Christian fortitude

... Mr. John P. Burn in the 73d year of his age. He was a native of Cassell, in Germany, but emigrated to this his adopted country, at the close of the revolutionary war, and took up his abode in Charleston, where for upwards of forty years he continued in the pursuit of an honest vocation in life, to support a considerable family. . . . He has left a widow and five children. . . . (Tuesday, July 20, 1824.)

Died, on Sunday morning the 18th inst. Col. William Rouse, Jun, aged 43 years, greatly lamented by his relatives and friends. (Wednesday, July 21, 1824.)

Departed this transitory life July 1st 1824, Mr. James S. Bee, after a short and painful illness of two days, aged 35 years and eleven months. In the death of this young man an aged mother is left to lament the loss of an affectionate son, his sisters a kind brother. . . . (Wednesday, July 21, 1824.)

Departed this life on Thursday, 15th inst. after a short illness of 4 days, which he supported with Christian fortitude, Mr. Jehu Clements aged about 32 years. He was a native of Philadelphia, and a Cabinet Maker by trade. It might be gratifying to his relatives to know that he had every attention paid to him, and the best medical attendance. Philadelphia Journals are requested to publish above. (Wednesday, July 21, 1824.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. and Mrs. Aimar, are requested to attend the funeral of their Son, This Evening, 23d inst. at 4 o'clock, East Bay, No. 201. (Friday, July 23, 1824.)

(To be continued)

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## A LEAF FROM THE SOUTH CAROLINA COMMONS HOUSE JOURNAL, 1700

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In 1924, Mr. A. S. Salley, then secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, published the *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly*, October 30–November 16, 1700. On page 17, below the entry for the afternoon of November 11, his footnote reads: "This entry ends a page. Between this and the next entry, at the top of a page, a leaf has been cut from the book."

During the burning of Columbia in February 1865 by the federal army under General Sherman, the missing leaf was picked up on a Columbia street by Colonel James D. Blanding of Sumter, South Carolina. On July 9, 1883, at a time when the state had no archives department, Colonel Blanding presented the leaf to this Society. It is printed here for the sake of those who now own the printed Journal. The original page is being returned to the state Archives Department for restoration to the volume from which it was cut.

Tuesday the 12th November 1700. The House Mett according to adjournment. A Bill to Prevent the Seas further Encroachment upon the Wharfe of Charles Town, Read the second time and past with amendments. A Continuing and Reviving Bill, Read the first time and past with Amendments. A Bill to Raise the Currant Coyne of this Province ordered to be Ingrossed.

Upon Mr. Speaker's reminding this House of the Governours Speech Ordered that the Debate of the Regulation of the Indyan Trade be deferred till to morrow morning. Ordered that Ralph Izard Esqr. and Mr. Robert Stevens waite upon the Governour and Request him to Informe this House of the Misdemeanors of the Indyan Traders, and Report the same to this House to morrow morning. Ordered that Mr. John Ashby in the Roome of Colonel Thomas Broughton being sick, be appraiser with Ralph Izard Esqr. and Capt. Georg Raynor appraisers before Nominated to joyne with three appraisers Appoynted by the upper House to assert the Prices upon the severall comodities in which the Lords Proprietors Rents is to be paid according to the Directions of an Act to Assertaine the Prices of Land &c.

A Bill to make Sullivan's Island more Remarkable to Marriners, Read the second time and past with Amendments. A Bill to enable Mrs Elizabeth Curtisse, Widdow, to sell and alien lands &c: Read the Second Time and Past with Amendments. A Bill to Confirm a Decree of Chancery for sale of a House and Lott Sold by Mary Want &c., Read the Second Time and past with amendments.

The House adjourned till to morrow morning Nine of the Clock..

Wednesday the 13th November 1700 In the morning. The House Mett according to adjournment. Reported by Ralph Izard Esqr. and Mr. Robt Stevens that the Governour Informed them that some Indyan Traders had beat and misused severall Indyans. And that one Indyan Trader had threatened to bring down some [torn]

Indyans and destroy the Late Governour and the now Governour with their families and that in a Convenient Time he would order them down and Inquire more particularly into their Misdemeanors and take such measures for the Security of them as the Nature of the thing requires.

According to yesterdays order the House Entered into the debate of the Indyan Trade. Upon the Debate, Ordered that Ralph Izard Esqr., Mr. Robert Fenwicke, Mr. Robert Stevens, Capt. Georg Raynor and Colonel Stephen Bull be a Committee to attend the Governour to know if his Honour had considered of any method for the Regulation of the Indyan Trade to make the said trade Safe and secure to the Publick and Report the same to this House.

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## NOTES AND REVIEWS \*

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Americans Interpret their Civil War. By Thomas J. Pressly. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. xvi-347. \$5.00.)

So deep and lasting was the impression made by the Civil War upon Americans, that books and articles upon the subject still come in floods. But, despite the passage of nearly a century, we are hardly closer to agreement upon how it came about or upon its deeper meaning than were its participants.

In writing this book Dr. Pressly's purpose has been to trace the historical development of American attitudes toward the great crisis in our national history. While aware that some evaluation is involved in the acts of selecting, analyzing and presenting the various interpretations, he has sought to avoid passing judgment on them. He has not, however, looked upon the shifts in meaning as occurring in an intellectual vacuum. Perhaps the greatest value of this book is to be found in his relating these changes to the social, economic, and political atmosphere of the periods which produced them. Frequently allegiance to a particular economic or political philosophy has carried more weight in determining an individual's attitudes than his place of birth.

During the war period the interpreters were politicians, soldiers, editors, preachers, poets—nearly everyone who could write or speak and be heard. Many were so deeply committed that the very act of interpreting was sometimes a part of the process of waging war. Characteristic of war-time interpretations was their diversity. Nearly every explanation advanced later has its counterpart among the crude propaganda of the war years. Only in the post war years when the "Solid South" emerged did Southerners "arrive at a common interpretation of the causes and character of the secession movement and the war." A similar process took place in the North.

By the 1890's there was a new generation for whom the war had no immediacy. The task of interpreting it had been taken over by historians at a time when the intellectual atmosphere was peculiarly favorable to reconciliation. The new graduate schools were insisting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>o</sup> This department will print queries not exceeding fifty words from members of the Society. The charge to non-members is one dollar for fifty words or less. Copy should be sent to The Secretary, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C., at least three months in advance of publication.

upon an "objective" approach to historical problems. In the North, disillusionment with Radical reconstruction promoted more sympathetic attitudes toward the white South. The impact of Darwinism was causing historians to look more for historical processes than for the machinations of evil persons. The "New South" philosophy, whose triumph meant a Northern intellectual conquest of the South, encouraged leading Southern historians of this generation to embrace the period's dominant "Nationalist Tradition." Despite dissenting voices, according to Dr. Pressly, it looked as though Americans were approaching substantial agreement about the Civil War.

The discords of twentieth century society, however, have been reflected in its interpretation of the past. Historians began to insist that objectivity was neither possible nor desirable and that history should be made a vehicle of reform. Beardians and Marxians interpreted the war as an economic or class struggle. The questioning of all wars which grew out of the post war disillusionment encouraged the view that the Civil War was an unnecessary war, the product of a "Blundering Generation." A reaction to the appeasement of authoritarian states evoked questioning of the virtue of appeasement policies preceding the outbreak of war in 1861. And the belief that the current world struggle is essentially a moral struggle has brought again an insistence that moral questions were basic in our Civil War. At mid-twentieth century, Dr. Pressly finds a "Confusion of Voices" in attempts to derive meaning from the Civil War.

Historians acquainted with the literature of the Civil War will find occasion to disagree with Dr. Pressly's emphases, omissions, and indeed his interpretation. He has perhaps over emphasized the tendency toward substantial agreement in the 1890's. He has, nevertheless, produced a work which even the specialist in the field will find useful, and which the reading public could read with pleasure and profit.

The Citadel

EDWARD H. PHILLIPS

Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Growing Out of the Revolution Books G-H. Edited by Wylma Anne Wates. (Columbia, S. C.: Department of Archives, 1955. Pp. viii, 123. Preface. Notes. Index. \$3.50.)

This volume is exactly what its title claims for it: a stub record of claims against the government of South Carolina filed by citizens for military service performed, or military supplies furnished, during the Revolution. It represents continuation of, and is the tenth volume in, a

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series begun by Mr. A. S. Salley as secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina. Except for those "reconstructed" accounts for which missing information was supplied by the editor from actual Accounts Audited, *Books G-H* follows the pattern set in earlier volumes.

In her preface the editor gives an excellent summary of the historical background which led to the use of "Indents" as a means of financing the Revolution.

The book is well printed on excellent paper and well bound. An estimated five other volumes will be required to make this series of records complete and available to scholars everywhere. The series will prove to be an invaluable tool for those engaged in research for patriotic organization purposes.

FLORA B. SURLES

Cities in the Wilderness, The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742. By Carl Bridenbaugh. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. Pp. xiv, 500. \$6.75.)

Cities in Revolt, Urban Life in America, 1743-1776. By Carl Bridenbaugh. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. Pp. xxi, 434. Illustrations. \$7.50.)

These books tell the author's version of the development to the Revolution of Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston.

Cities in the Wilderness, first published in 1938, cried out for a thorough checking of material and opinion, but did not get it. Examples of some of its faults can be found in a casual editing of the author's treatment of the Established Church in Charleston.

Appraisal of the sequel, Cities in Revolt, has been made more difficult by its almost complete lack of footnotes, and by an index as poor as that of the first book. An insight to Dr. Bridenbaugh's system of thinking can be had here (page 20) with his opinion concerning the design of St. Michael's, Charleston. A biographer's afflatus excused his attribution of this work to Peter Harrison, of Newport, when his evidences were rather intuitive. Since George William's definitive history of the church has been published, there would seem to be no virtue in reinterating a claim on grounds that at best are admittedly circumstantial, and would appear to be more sentimental than sensible.

After all there would be genuine difficulties in writing history to such a pair of titles. Lima, Vera Cruz, and Havana, for instance, are American cities, and had a sort of urban life before the rather remarkable century that began in 1625 and ended in 1742. For a fair part of

the years between 1743 and 1776, none of Dr. Bridenbaugh's cities was exactly in revolt. And, for that matter, none of them, strictly speaking, was ever a city in a wilderness.

SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY

Viola, The Duchess of New Dorp: A Biography of Viola Roseboro. By Jane Kirkland Graham. (Privately printed. Two volumes in one. Pp. 312 and 319. Acknowledgments. Illustrations. Index to Contributors. \$8.50.)

This is an unorthodox biography of an unorthodox woman.

Born in Tennessee shortly before the War of Secession, Viola Roseboro was the child of abolitionists, her father a Congregational minister and her mother a Methodist. During the war, Mr. Roseboro served as a chaplain with the Union army. At the close of hostilities, he brought his family back to the South, and Viola was educated at Fairmount College, "the female branch" of the University of the South at Sewanee. Talented and attractive, she began a stage career by going on a tour of public readings, and then registered at an academy in Cincinnati to study stage art. Here she also served as columnist for a Nashville newspaper and began to write for the New York Daily Graphic. Later she went to live in New York. An attack of pneumonia ended her stage career, and she became a free lance writer, producing reviews, magazine stories and articles. Her first book was Old Ways and New, a collection of short stories. The Joyous Heart, and The Storms of Youth were two of her novels. Her most significant work in life, however, was as a reader of manuscripts for the S. S. McClure Syndicate and for McClure's Magazine, a career which brought her in contact with the great of the literary world, and gave play to her "passion for discovering genius." O. Henry (Will S. Porter) and Booth Tarkington were among her discoveries. To Will Irwin, Viola was a "kind of feminine Dr. Johnson without his touch of pomposity." In old age she retired to New Dorp on Staten Island, and lived on an annuity until her death in 1945, in her 88th year.

A decade after her death, Viola has found her Boswell in the author of this book. Paralleling and sometimes interrupting the story of the life of this female Dr. Johnson, copious notes minutely detail every clue which the author followed in acquiring material. The result is a source book, rather than a narrative for easy reading. A general index would have added much to the value of such a book.

The author is a native of South Carolina, a graduate of the University of Michigan, and received her M.A. degree in English from

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Vanderbilt University. Her address is P. O. Box 5084, Five Points Station, Columbia 5, S. C.

ANNE KING GREGORIE

Famous Signers of the Declaration. By Dorothy Horton McGee. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1955. Pp. xii, 308. Illustrations. \$2.75.)

As a newcomer in the Famous Biographies for Young People series, this book is designed for readers from "Junior High School up." The "up" might well include members of the many patriotic organizations among adults, as well as general readers who enjoy good biography. The chapter on the signers from South Carolina gives more space, as might be expected, to Arthur Middleton and Edward Rutledge than to Thomas Heyward, Jr., and Thomas Lynch, Jr., but it is well worth reading; and the book as a whole is useful for ready reference as well as for general information on the background of the Declaration of Independence.

A. K. G.

The Dulles Family in South Carolina. By Samuel Gaillard Stoney. (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1955. Pp. 30. Illustrations. Complimentary.)

This account of the forbears of the Dulles family was published by the University of South Carolina on the occasion of a commencement address at the University last June, by John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States. Called a "keepsake", the attractive little book is not only a genealogy of the Dulles family in South Carolina, but a most interesting account of some early history of the state, as described by a master of the subject.

The fourteen plates which illustrate the book are examples of what fine work of that kind should be.

R. BENTHAM SIMONS

The Clan Chisholm. By Jean Dunlap. (Edinburgh, Scotland: The Clan Chisholm Society, 1955. Pp. 29. Illustrations, maps. 6 shillings.)

This interesting little brochure gives the history of this clan from the Norman invasion in 1066 down to modern times.

The Clan Chisholm lived in the beautiful clan country near Inverness, Scotland. They fought for James IV at Flodden Field in 1513, but in later times "the King's quarrel was forgotten in a more intimate and personal strife," and in 1647 the Clan fought on the side of the Covenanters against the Royalists. Still later, the Clan supported the Stuarts in 1715 and in 1745, and thirty of their Jacobites were killed at Culloden.

There is a genealogical table and also a picture of the personal arms of the Chisholms which should be of interest to the many descendants of Clan Chisholm in this country.

R. BENTHAM SIMONS

A review of *Thomas Grange Simons III*, *His Forbears and Relations*, by R. Bentham Simons, appeared in the April 1955 issue of this Magazine. In response to inquiries as to what allied families are included, the following list is given: Aiken, Allen, Alston, Ashley, Bennett, Bentham, Blamyer, Bond, Bonneau, Boykin, Bradham, Carroll, Clarkson, Coffin, Collings, Cordes, Dana, Dawson, Deas, du Pont, Ferguson, Fraser, Frost, Gaillard, Geddings, Gibbs, Grimball, Hall, Hasell, Hastie, Hayne, Heyward, Hort, Hume, Jamieson, Jenkins, Jervey, Johnstone, Keating, Laurens, Lesesne, Lucas, McCrady, MacMillan, Marion, Marshall, Martin, Maxwell, Maybank, Mayrant, Mazyck, Middleton, Mikell, Moore, Noble, Peyre, Pinckney, Porcher, Proctor, Richardson, Royer, Simons, Sinkler, Small, Smith, Street, Taylor, Walker, Waring, Warley, Wigfall.

#### OUR SOCIETY

A special cabinet for the storage of microfilm, and a reader for the use of microfilm, have been presented to this Society by Mrs. Percy G. Kammerer, of Charleston. These gifts are additions to the Aiken Simons Memorial previously given by Mrs. Kammerer, and likewise meet a long-felt need, for more than a score of important items from the Society's collections are now available for use in microfilm. Of especial interest to genealogists are the epitaphs from cemeteries of Charleston and the Motte Alston Read and Mabel L. Webber genealogical records.

Students who are interested in the Arthur Middleton papers will be glad to know that the tantalizing code in which many of them are written has been broken, and the coded items are now available in typed form.

The resignation of Miss Helen McCormick as archivist, to become director of the Gibbes Art Gallery, has meant a great loss to the Society. Mrs. John Bennett of Charleston, however, has been working steadily in the manuscript collections as a volunteer. Since June 1955, she has

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sorted and arranged in folders, besides a number of miscellaneous papers, three full boxes of the papers of Major Hutson Lee, C.S.A., and fourteen boxes of the Huger-Bacot papers. She is now working on the large Gourdin collection.

The 101st annual meeting of the Society was held at the Fort Sumter Hotel, Charleston, on January 14, 1956, President R. Bentham Simons in the chair. As Admiral Simons declined re-election, the first vice-president, B. Allston Moore, was unanimously elected president. Other officers elected were: S. G. Stoney, first vice-president; E. Milby Burton, second vice-president; A. K. Gregorie, third vice-president; Berkeley Grimball, fourth vice-president; Mrs. Slann L. C. Simmons, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. John Bennett, William Mason Smith, Charles L. Anger, J. Mauldin Lesesne, Clarence W. Legerton, R. Bentham Simons, Mrs. S. Edward Izard, Nathaniel L. Barnwell, John G. Leland, curators; Anne King Gregorie, editor. At the luncheon after the business meeting, Dr. Daniel W. Hollis of the University of South Carolina made an informative address on our state colleges, well spiced with humor.

New members added to the rolls in 1955 were: Mrs. Hall T. McGee, A. T. Smythe, Jr., Louis R. Lawson, Jr., John G. Leland, George E. Grimball, Mrs. Virginia P. Rhett, Edward D. Buckley, William H. Grimball, Henry F. Wolfe, William H. Frampton, Henry Lide DuRant, Coming B. Gibbs, Mrs. F. J. Nepveux, Mrs. Martha Thomas, Mrs. B. Allston Moore, George Grice, J. Walker Coleman, Jr., and Mrs. Charles Agee, all of Charleston; Rock L. Comestock, Jr., E. Stanley Barnhill and Alston Deas, of Mt. Pleasant; Lucius C. Hamilton, Leonardo Andrea, Frederick F. DuBard, S. L. Latimer, Jr., Calder W. Seibels, John C. Blackburn, and T. S. Buie, all of Columbia; Mrs. Ansel M. Hawkins, Greer; Elias Ball Bull, Pinopolis; Thomas Paul Grimball, Jr., Greenville; Mrs. Marion Whaley, Edisto Island; Mrs. Harvey McN. McLure, Bishopville; Mrs. Jane Summer Ragland, Cayce; Mrs. F. L. Willcox and Mrs. James C. McLeod, Florence; William Boyce White, Jr., Rock Hill; L. G. Fishburne, Walterboro; Margaret E. Drakeford, Fort Mill; Spartanburg Junior College, Spartanburg; Newton B. Jones, Clinton.

New members from outside of the state were: Mrs. James L. Bolt, Oregon; Mrs. William O. Pruitt and Richard Walsh, Washington, D. C.; David L. Payne and Mrs. W. D. Brinson, Sr., Florida; J. Blake Middleton, London, England; Thomas F. Cadwalader, Maryland; W. Marshall Moore and Oliver A. Neel, North Carolina; Georgia Magazine of History and Genealogy, Mrs. Charles B. Mikell, and J. E. Hill, Georgia; Mrs. John B. Gasquet and A. R. Yates, Louisiana; James F. Thomas, Pennsylvania; Mrs. J. L. Ballard and Mrs. Mary F. Schertz, California; Dr. and

Mrs. Joseph T. Wearn, Ohio; Mrs. Pearl C. Turner, Mrs. Kathryn C. Hill, Mrs. George N. Picras, Mrs. Ethel S. Cole, and Mrs. George W. Edwards, all of Texas; Milton J. Harper and John Lawson Bell, Mississippi; University of Nebraska; Mrs. Walter C. Holmes, Indiana; H. O. Durham, Jr., Virginia; Mrs. V. E. Johnston, Michigan; Mrs. L. P. Munger, Alabama; Rees Evans, Oklahoma; Mrs. Howard Mueller, Tennessee.

#### THE SUMTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the December 1955 meeting, officers for 1956 of the Sumter County Historical Society were elected as follows: *president*, McBride Dabbs; *vice-presidents*, Mrs. S. O. Plowden, John L. Frierson, Thomas M. Stubbs, Porcher Rembert; *secretary*, Mrs. Heyward Osteen; *treasurer*, E. Murr Hall. Named to the executive committee were Harold Moise and R. T. Brown.

#### GEORGETOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

New officers of the Georgetown Historical Society are: Arthur Doyle, president; Miss Genevieve Chandler, vice-president; Mrs. J. L. Bull, Jr., secretary; and C. C. Prevost, treasurer.

## REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Mrs. Pearl C. Turner, 1102 North High Street, Brady, Texas, wants information on the Thomas and Moore families. Mary (Polly) Thomas, born in South Carolina in 1787, to Evan and Elizabeth Thomas, in 1808 married William Moore in county adjoining North Carolina, and went to Illinois. One sister was Mrs. Reason Reagon, a brother was Samuel Thomas.

Walter Weston Folger, 205 Island Avenue, Chattanooga 5, Tennessee, wants information on Revolutionary War soldier George Hill, probably born in York County, died in Pickens County in 1838, married Alse, daughter of John Ashworth and Nancy Ann Woods of Rutherford (later Buncombe) County, North Carolina, and had one daughter Rachel.

Mrs. J. B. Stover, 3430 McFarlin Boulevard, Dallas, Texas, for Swilling Family History, would like data from descendants of George Swilling (Anderson County, 1800) and Martha Lynch, daughter of Sarah (Clarke) and Charles Lynch; and information on George Swilling, Jr., who married Margaret Prince Farrar of Pendleton District.

